THE ANNUAL

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

No. XXVI.

SESSIONS 1923–1924; 1924–1925

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EXCAVATIONS IN MACEDONIA.—II.

(Plates I–V.)

Introduction.

The excavations of 1921 in Macedonia recorded in Vol. XXIV. of the *Annual* (p. 1 ff.) were completed in 1922. The site known as Chauchitsa was completely examined and the cemetery on the two rocky mounds was sufficiently excavated to make it possible to establish the main features of the burial methods and equipment. The high mound at the back of the cemetery on the edge of the plateau was also excavated and found to be an undisturbed stratified site. The strata revealed were of the fourth century B.C., of the Early Iron Age, and below that of the Bronze Age. The objects found in the Bronze Age strata and the nature of these strata have been fully dealt with elsewhere[1]: the purpose of this report is to describe the cemetery, the Iron Age deposit which overlay the Bronze Age settlement, the Historic strata which overlay the Iron Age settlement, and, finally, to shew the connection between the Iron Age settlement and the cemetery at the foot of the plateau.

The East Mound (Figs. 1 and 2).—Fourteen graves in all were opened in the first season and have been duly recorded. In the second season a further twenty-two graves were opened, and all alike shewed the same general character as the first fourteen. The cemetery was homogeneous and contained the dead of a people who all enjoyed the same culture. The whole surface of the eastern of the two rocky mounds seems to have been covered with these interments. Each interment was of a complete skeleton and there was no trace of partial or complete incineration. Each skeleton was stretched out at full length, either on its back or its side, and the grave objects were invariably objects of personal adornment or domestic use. The nature of the soil is such as to make it extremely

[1] See *Archaeologia*, Vol. lxxiv. p. 73 ff.

FIG. 1.—THE EASTERN MOUND AT CHAUCHITSA.

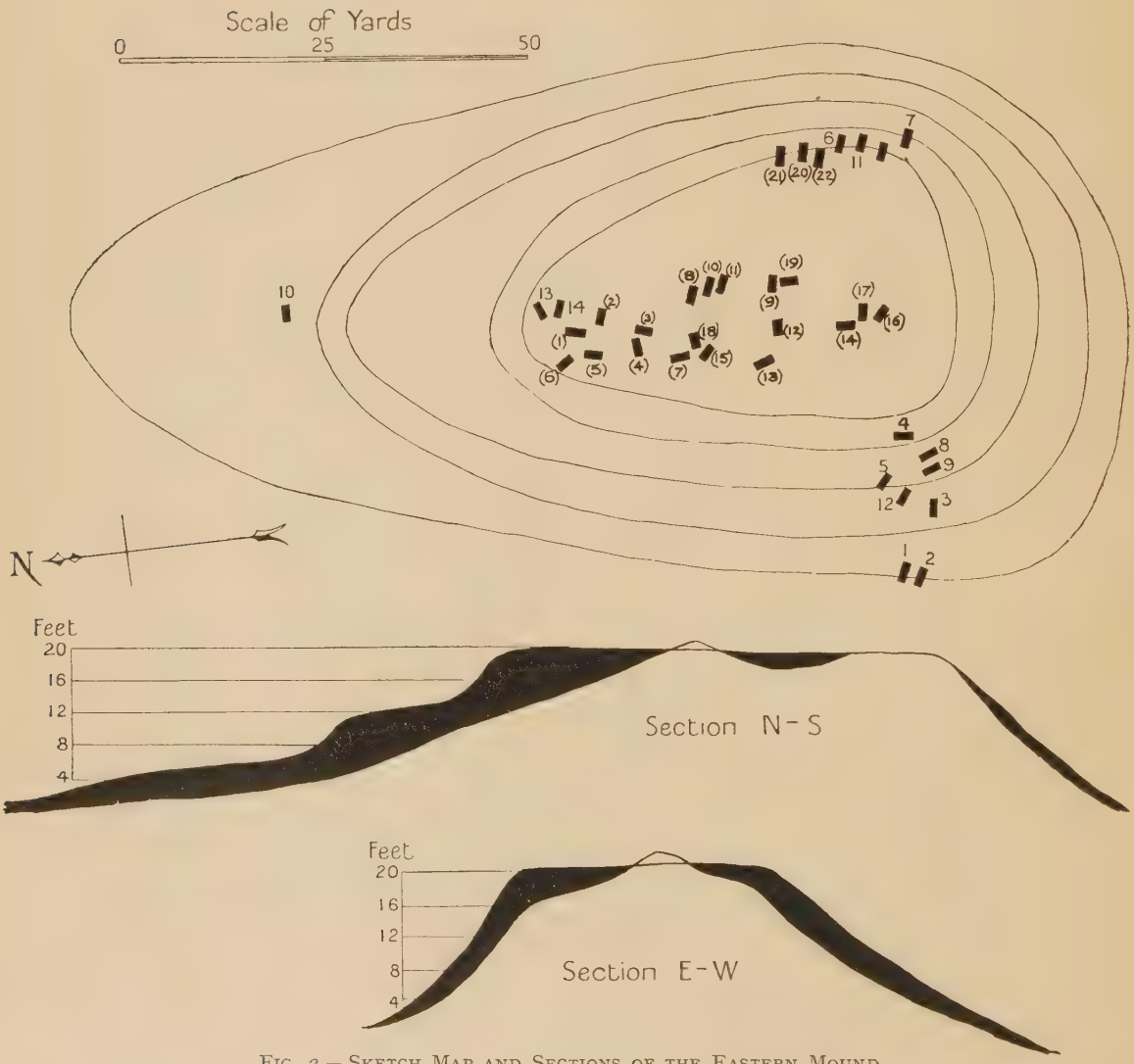


FIG. 2.—SKETCH MAP AND SECTIONS OF THE EASTERN MOUND.

(Numbers in brackets indicate the graves described in this Report. The other numbers are of graves excavated in 1921.)

difficult for the bones to be preserved.[1] No complete skeleton was found and only two skulls were recovered : of these two enough has not survived to establish any definite skull measurements. Leg-bones were often well preserved and arm-bones could be identified, but often the skeleton could only be traced by the disposition of the ornaments and by the very fragmentary and powdery outlines of the principal limbs. In most cases the teeth survived, but often with only the scantiest remains of the jaws. Small fragments of the thicker parts of the skulls were numerous, but no trace of finger- or toe-bones was discovered, and rib-bones and vertebrae had all decayed. Much of this destruction or disintegration may be traced to the heavy cairn of rocks which was piled over each body, probably to preserve it from wolves. These rocks had sunk into the body and crushed the bones, particularly the skulls, and had, of course, broken all the pottery vessels except the small and stoutly built jugs of the archaic type which were so numerous in the graves dug in the first season. There was no fixed orientation of bodies.

The rocks[2] composing the cairns were at an average depth of only 40 centimetres from the present surface of the mound, so that the excavation presented no initial difficulties. But the removal of the cairn-rocks required the greatest care, as the grave equipment beneath them had to be identified and preserved from confusion with other graves, which in some cases lay below. In the three graves which contained bronze shields (Grave Nos. 18, 19, 20) the fragile nature of the shields made their removal difficult.

The West Mound.—The west mound was trenched for graves, but nothing except occasional finds was discovered. Several bronze ornaments and small complete pots were found on this mound but no interment as such. Similar remains were found in the space between the two mounds. It was decided to concentrate upon the excavation of the east mound.

Excavations were begun on April 4th, 1922, and concluded on April 21st. The expenses were largely defrayed by a grant from the Macedonian Exploration Fund in the administration of the Committee of the British School. Mr. A. W. Lawrence of New College was with me for the first

[1] See Vol. xxiv. p. 7, where the corrosive nature of the soil is emphasised.

[2] They were all unhewn and frequently water-worn, as though brought from stream-beds. Some were as much as ·5 m. in width.

two weeks and gave me most valuable assistance. Mr. Charles Dodd of the British Legation at Athens joined us for the first three days, and Mr. J. E. Scott, Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, gave most useful assistance for a week. Mr. W. A. Heurtley joined me two days before the end of the excavation. For the first week we lived in the fishermen's hut on the edge of Lake Ardjani, about a mile south-west of the site. Later we obtained tents and camped on the mound itself. The workmen were all Caucasian refugees of great reliability and intelligence. To M. Pelekides, as before, I am indebted for great help in the preliminary arrangements, and I must again express my gratitude to the Hellenic Government for their generous grant of the concession.

Since the excavation two important sites have been excavated by Mr. Heurtley on the Vardar banks at Vardino [1] and Vardaroftsi.[2] At each of these mounds a definite and considerable stratum of the Iron Age was found. My own excavation at Kilindir in 1925 [3] shewed a stratum of destruction which closed the Bronze Age, but no subsequent stratum of Iron Age settlement. All this new evidence will be taken into consideration at the close of this report.

Objects Found in the Graves.

Grave 1.—Within ·40 m. of the surface. The grave was lined with fragments, usually the halves, of reddish earthenware pithoi, so placed as to cover the body beneath as well as above and at the sides. The skull, teeth and leg-bones were in a state of preservation sufficient to shew clearly the position of the body, which was upon the back and straight out. At the head was a small red jug of a type not very common (Fig. 3*b*). Touching it was a fine bronze pin in perfect preservation and well patinated (Pl. II, 2*d*). It measures ·145 m. in length and is of a well-known but not very common Iron Age type. Over the mouth of the body (or in it) had been placed a bronze bar. Half only of this bar was found, and it was pierced in the middle. The half measured ·085 m. The teeth had been stained bright jade green through contact with this object.

The only other objects in the grave were :—

A fine bronze bead decorated with concentric circles at regular intervals (Pl. II, 2*i*). It measures ·022 m. in diameter.

A barrel-shaped bead of bronze measuring ·0175 m.

A fragment of an iron knife ·065 m. in length.

These three objects could not be certainly fixed in their relation to the body.

---

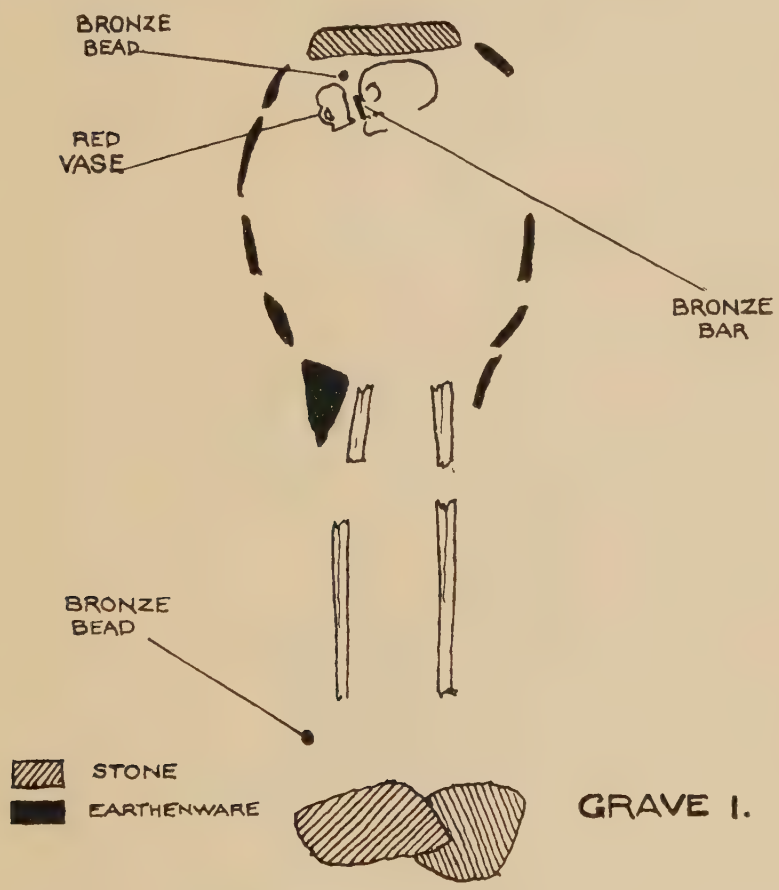
[1] Liverpool *Annals of Arch. and Anthr.*, Vol. xii. p. 15.

[2] *Times*, May 31, 1926.

[3] *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. vi. p. 59.

Grave 2.—This grave was at right angles to Grave 1 and at a lower depth. It was actually overlapped by it and at a lower level. It must therefore be earlier in date. Only traces of the leg-bones remained of the skeleton. The body seems to have been placed on flat stones with stones also at the sides. The following objects were found grouped about the upper part of the body :—

An iron sword or long knife (Pl. II, 1*a*) with one cutting edge. It measures



·385 m. in length and ·025 m. in width. A rivet projects from the base end of the blade.

A thin plaque of good dark yellow gold with a pattern of concentric circles. It measures ·06 m. in length and ·02 m. in width (Pl. III, 1*a*).

A whetstone ·095 m. in length and ·025 m. in width. It is pierced for suspension at one end.

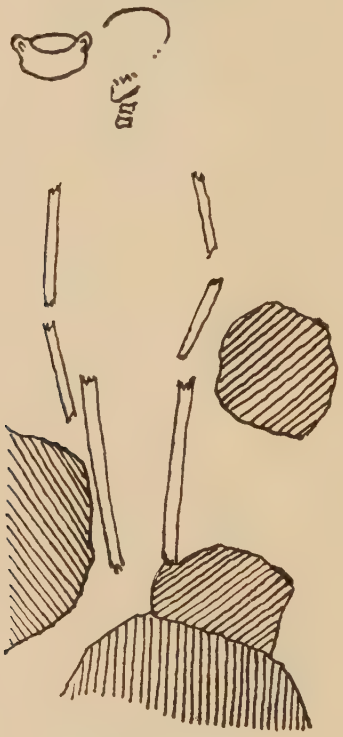
A thick bronze ring of triangular section, for a finger measuring ·0275 m. in total diameter.

Two pairs of bronze tweezers each ·07 m. in length and ·017 m. at fullest breadth (Pl. II, 2*f*,*l*). The outer surface was decorated in each case by dots impressed from inside.

An iron blade ·125 m. in length and ·037 m. in width.

A fine wheel-made skyphos of red ware with a design of concentric circles. Dimensions ·09 m. high and ·14 m. in diameter (Fig. 3*c*).

Grave 3.—Situated a metre-and-a-half to the south of Grave 2. The leg-bones were well preserved and fragments of the skull remained.



GRAVE 3.

The following objects were found grouped round the upper part of the body :—

A gold plaque of pale yellow gold (Pl. III, 1*d*) with a central rib and concentric circles, and holes at each end.

An iron blade of a knife (Pl. II, 1*c*) with one cutting edge, in perfect preservation. It measures ·255 m. in length and ·02 m. in width.

A pair of bronze tweezers (Pl. II, 2*k*) with the handle end fast round a pin of iron. The pin is ·09 m. and the tweezers ·065 m. in length.

Small bronze ringlets.

A wheel-made skyphos as in the preceding grave, ·10 m. in height and ·12 m. in diameter across the mouth (Figs. 3*d* and 6*d*).

Grave 4.—This grave lay almost at right angles to the foot of Grave 3, but it was impossible to say at which end the head was. It contained the following objects :—

A hand-made jug with a cut-away neck of the archaic shape already identified in the previous excavations. The jug measured ·11 m. in height, and was of grey ware. Inside it were ten badly preserved teeth, a small amber bead, three very small bronze beads, and a paste bead ·02 m. long.

A wheel-made jar of red ware too badly broken to distinguish the shape and size, but approximately it was ·11 m. high.

A single-handled ' kothon ' of red ware badly broken.

A bronze amulet (Pl. V, 2*b*) ·075 m. in height, with its lid cover separate.

A lid of another identical amulet.

A flat bird-pendant measuring ·068 m. in width and ·036 m. in height, with a tail flattened at right angles to the body.

Two small bronze hair ringlets.

A clay whorl ·04 m. in height, a small bronze bead, a paste bead of circular shape, a bronze ' cylinder ' bead and a total length of ·022 m. of bronze spiral ornament.

Grave 5.—This lay about a metre west of Graves 1 and 2. It contained :—

A pair of heavy bronze wristlets of one convolution measuring ·065 m. in diameter.

A small spectacle brooch ·095 m. in length.

A clay whorl of a flat type ·05 m. in diameter. A large bronze bead ·039 m. in length and two small ' barrel ' beads.

The hilt (with two rivet pins) of an iron blade. The fragment measures ·11 m. in length.

A large fragment of an iron sword-blade with one cutting edge but a ribbed centre (Pl. II, 1*b*). The fragment measures ·24 m. in length and ·04 m. in width.

A small iron ring ·025 m. in diameter.

Fragments of a grey wheel-made kantharos of a type already identified.

Grave 6.—This lay just north-west of the last. It contained :—

Two bronze bow-fibulae in perfect preservation (Pl. IV, *a*), each ·07 m. in width.

Two heavy wristlets of one convolution and diameter ·062 m.

A thin bronze ring of diameter ·045 m.

Fragments of a grey wheel-made kantharos as in the last grave (Fig. 4*a*).

Grave 7.—The bones of this burial could not be well established. It was just south of Grave 4. It contained :—

An iron knife-blade with one cutting-edge measuring ·15 m. in length and ·04 m. in width.

Half a bronze spectacle brooch.

An iron ring of diameter ·025 m.

A fragment of a bronze wristlet.

A transparent spherical glass bead of diameter ·013 m.

Grave 8.—This, like Grave 1, overlies another, which was, in consequence, only partly uncovered. The leg-bones and skull were well preserved. The grave, which was richer than most, contained :—

Fragments of a red-ware wheel-made ' kothon ' of about ·16 m. diameter.

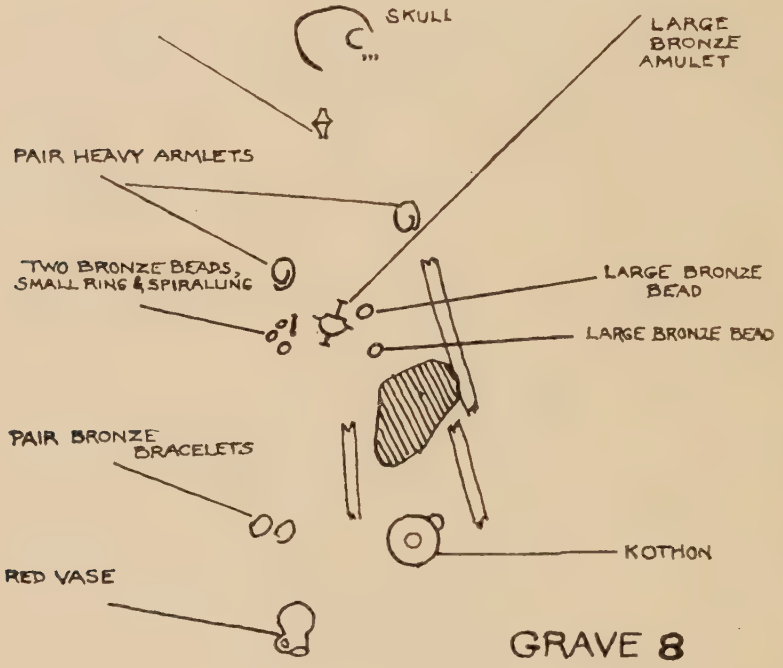
A rough hand-made jug of red ware some ·14 m. in height.

A ' feeding bottle ' of wheel-made red ware, ·14 m. in height.

A very large bronze amulet with an unusual type of lid. It measured ·12 m. in height with the lid, and the breadth of the double wings was ·11 m. The diameter of the body at the extreme bulge was ·07 m. (Pl. V, 2*a*).

Two very large bronze beads of the elaborate ' barrel ' type; one is ·065 m., the other ·05 m. in length.

A pair of bronze wristlets of diameter ·065 m.



A large undecorated bronze bead ·035 m. in diameter. A small bone was inside the bead when it was found, and it may have been on a finger.

A length of bronze spiralling some ·15 m. in all, of the same type found in Grave 4.

Two small ' barrel ' bronze beads.

A small bronze hair ringlet.

Grave 9.—Very few bone fragments were found. The contents were :—

An unbroken jug of wheel-made red ware (Fig. 3*a*).

Fragments of a second jug of the same type.

A small grey ware hand-made cup unbroken, measuring some ·055 m. in diameter (Fig. 3*i*).

Fragments of a hand-made jug with a cut-away neck of the ' archaic ' type.

A one-handled ' kothon ' of wheel-made red ware, diameter ·14 m.

A large bronze amulet with lid measuring ·05 m. in height without the lid and ·04 m. wide at the extreme bulge of the body. The lid has for wings not the usual projections, but two birds' heads, highly stylised (Pl. V, 2*c*).

Three small ' barrel ' bronze beads.

One bronze wristlet of diameter ·07 m. A black paste ' eye ' bead with yellow markings.

A small finger-ring of neatly twisted bronze wire well patinated. The final coil has spiral twists.

A dark red amber bead was found near the finger-ring, in fragments.

Grave 10.—This grave lay between Graves 8 and 11. It contained the following :—

A very large spectacle brooch (Pl. III, 2*a*) measuring ·15 m. in length.

Three clay whorls.

A bronze pendant ornament resembling a bean (Pl. V, 1*f*) and pierced through the sides, and with an eye on each flank. It has a loop for suspension.

A bronze bird-pendant. It has a loop for suspension (Pl. V, 1*a*), and measures ·065 m. from beak to tail.

Three small bronze hair ringlets.

Three small bronze ' barrel ' beads.

A finger-ring of flattened bronze.

Grave 11.—This grave contained very little of the skeleton, but the leg-bones were in good preservation. The following were found :—

Fragments of two ' kothons,' each about ·16 m. in diameter.

A bronze armlet of thin wire with eight convolutions.

One spiral finger-ring of flattened wire with five convolutions.

·07 m. of bronze spiralling.

One small paste bead of spherical shape.

An iron ring of flattened metal measuring ·025 m. in diameter and ·018 m. high.

Grave 12.—This grave was difficult to establish. It contained :—

An unbroken cup of grey hand-made ware measuring ·07 m. in height and ·085 m. in diameter, with a ' thumb-grip ' handle (Fig. 3*g*).

Fragments of a hand-made jug of brown ware some ·09 m. in height.

Fragments of a wheel-made jug. The fragments were not sufficient to make it possible to restore the shape.

A bronze finger-ring of wire in five convolutions. The top loop was twisted or plaited. It was ·025 m. in diameter.

Grave 13.—This grave contained a great number of bronze objects, mostly together. It was impossible to establish their position, as the grave was on the edge of the mound and the cairn stones had slipped downwards. The following are the objects found :—

Fourteen bronze beads of ' barrel ' type (Pl. IV, *c*) and various sizes.

One bronze ' cylinder ' bead measuring ·02 m. in height.

Eleven cm. of large bronze spiralling.

One small spectacle brooch ·05 m. long.

One plain pin with ' nail ' head measuring ·28 m. in length.

Two indeterminate fragments of iron blades.

Three clay whorls.

One heavy bronze finger-ring.

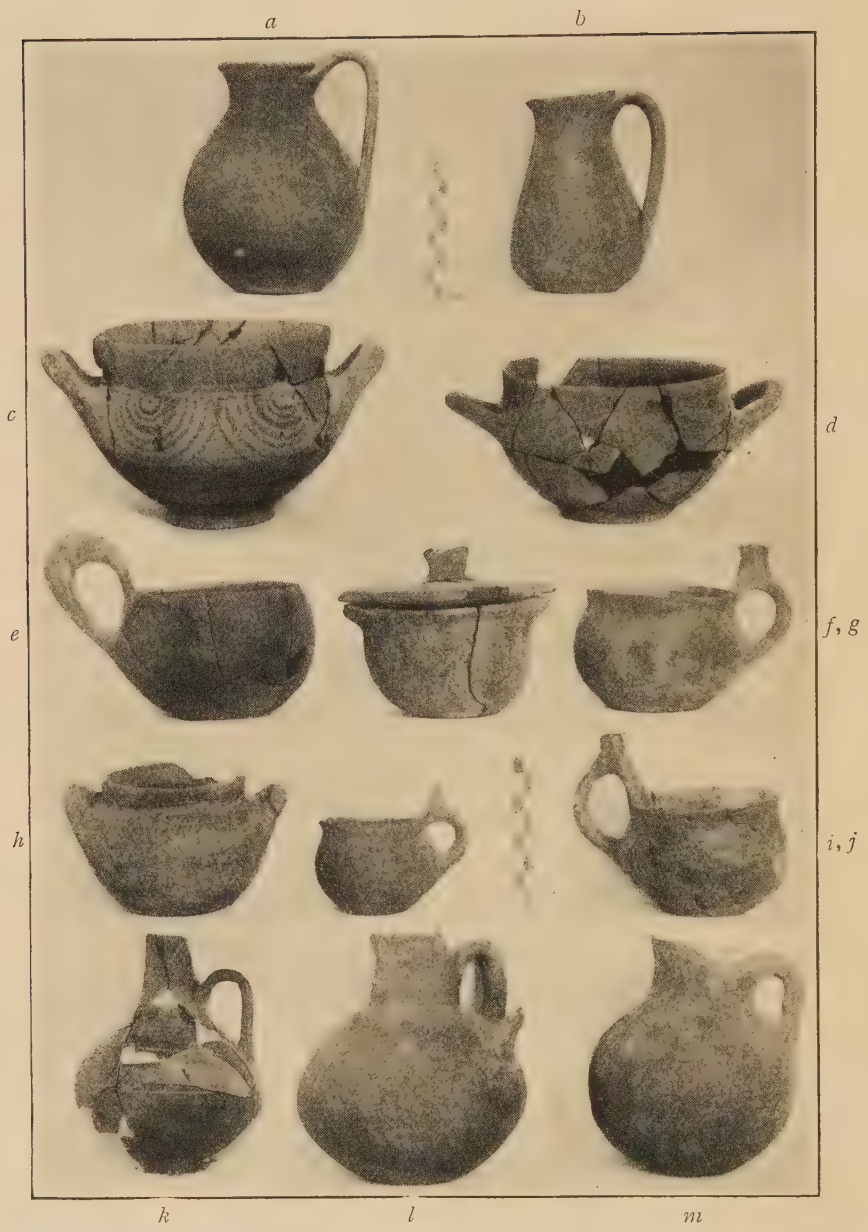


FIG. 3.—POTTERY FROM GRAVES ON THE EASTERN MOUND. (Scale = 8 cmm.)

Two bronze bird-pendants with small jugs on their backs (Pl. V, 1*b*). Each measured ·09 m. in width from beak to tail and ·05 m. in height (including jugs).

One small bronze amulet with lid, measuring ·05 m. in height with lid (Pl. V, 2*d*).

A bronze object resembling a chape (Pl. II, 2*h*).

A large bronze bead, in type a combination of the cylinder and barrel types. It measures ·065 m. in height.

A large ' barrel ' bead ·045 m. in height.

A large squat bead measuring ·021 m. in height and ·035 m. in diameter.

A spectacle brooch, broken but approximately ·08 m. in width.

Two iron pins ·065 m. and ·045 m. respectively in length.

A flat bronze finger-ring of ·02 m. diameter, made of a strip of flattened metal ·015 m. wide bent round.

An uncertain bronze object like a flattened ring.

A large wristlet of bronze of one convolution measuring ·06 m. in diameter.

An uncertain bronze object (Pl. II, 2*c*) resembling a dagger-handle. It is ·058 m. in height.

Grave 14.—Fragments of the skull were found in this grave. The objects found were simply :—

A cup of hand-made grey ware resembling a skyphos in shape. It measures ·065 m. in height and ·075 m. in the diameter of the mouth, and it has two handles (Fig. 3*h*).

A jar or cup of grey ware with a projection on each side and a lid which is itself surmounted by a knob of *ansa lunata* type (Fig. 3*f*).

Grave 15.—This grave, being on the sloping edge of the mound, was hard to establish. It contained the following objects :—

A ' feeding bottle ' of red wheel-made ware ·13 m. in height.

A jug with cut-away neck of hand-made grey ware, broken, but originally some ·13 m. high.

A cup of hand-made grey ware, broken, ·08 m. high, with a ' thumb-grip ' handle as in the similar vessel in Grave 12 (Fig. 3*j*).

Half of a low dish of hand-made grey ware, originally some ·11 m. in length.

Fragments of a grey ' kantharos.'

Grave 16.—This was the most southern grave excavated, and was near the top of the mound. It contained :—

A broken red wheel-made ' kothon ' of some ·16 m. diameter.

A large spiral armlet of the type shown in Vol. XXIV. p. 14, Fig. 10. It consisted of ten convolutions and was very narrow at the wrist, being only ·04 m. in diameter at that end. Its butt end was found separately.

Some 20 cm. of bronze spiralling.

Fourteen bronze beads of the ' barrel ' types.

One bronze bead of the ridged ' barrel ' type some ·035 m. high.

Fragments of an iron blade.

A bronze bird-pendant with loop for suspension. It measures ·035 m. in height and ·055 m. from beak to tail (Pl. V, 1*d*).

A flat finger-ring of bronze.

A large bronze pin with ' nail ' head some ·265 m. in length.

A flat animal-pendant with suspension loop. It measures ·09 m. long and is almost flat (Pl. V, 1*e*).

Grave 17.—A cup with a looped handle of grey hand-made ware (Fig. 3*e*) of a type not otherwise known at the cemetery. In height (excluding the handle) it measures ·08 m.

A large bronze pin measuring ·255 m. in length.

A bronze band, perhaps from a spear butt.

An iron sword or knife hilt with two rivets and one cutting edge.

One bronze ' barrel ' bead.

One clay whorl.

A fragment of a curved iron blade some ·165 m. in length.

Grave 18.—This is one of three graves which contained bronze shield-centres. This grave was at the western edge of the mound, roughly in the centre of the excavations. The objects constituting it were as follows :—

A shield-centre of bronze (Pl. I, *c*) undamaged except for a slight crack and broken edges. The shield-centre measures ·186 m. in diameter and does not exceed ·0015 m. in thickness. The central boss projects ·015 m. from the surface. It was separately made and attached through a central hole to a containing plate at the back. On the inner side of the shield-centre it forms a bronze loop as shewn here :

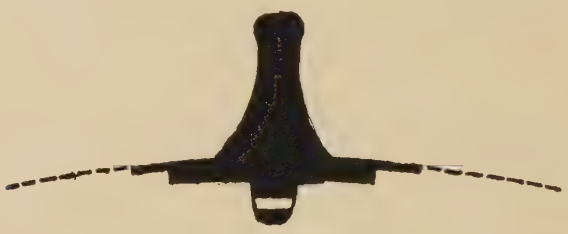


FIG. 4.—DIAGRAM SHEWING METHOD OF FIXING CENTRAL BOSS.

The boss itself is a plain flat-topped cone of circular section. The shield-centre had six triangular cuts round the boss, which leave radial bars extending from it. These bars are decorated with incised lines.

A pair of heavy bronze wristlets of one convolution each of rectangular section. Each has an interior diameter measurement of ·058 m.

A long bronze pin with a ' nail ' head, measuring ·25 m. and decorated along its sides with incised lines for a distance of ·035 m. from the head.

A broken triple spectacle brooch measuring ·07 m. in width.

No clear bone remains were found, but the objects seem to have lain as follows : —the shield on the breast and the wristlets on arms folded across the breast; the pin near the waist; the brooch could not be accurately placed.

Grave 19 (Fig. 5).—This grave was at right angles to Grave 9. It was bedded upon ten or twelve large rocks which had been built up to support it, and was about one metre below the mound surface. Few bones were found, but the objects were all apparently in their original positions. They were as follows :—

A shield-centre of bronze (Pl. I, *a*) similar to that of the preceding grave but larger; it was ·315 m. in diameter. It had a central boss which projected ·05 m. and was attached to the body by the same plate and loop. The radial bars were decorated with incisions. A remarkable feature of this shield is that it had been riveted in six places with *iron* rivets.

Two heavy bronze armlets of one convolution each of elliptical section. Each had an interior diameter measurement of ·07 m.

A clay whorl of ' barrel ' shape.

A wheel-made one-handled jug of red ware, unbroken, measuring ·135 m. in height.

The shield-centre when found was crushed into some twelve fragments, but has been well restored. The arrangement of the objects was exactly as in Grave 18 (as regards the shield and wristlets). The jug was at the feet and the whorl between the wristlets. Part of the bone of a forearm was found within one of the wristlets.

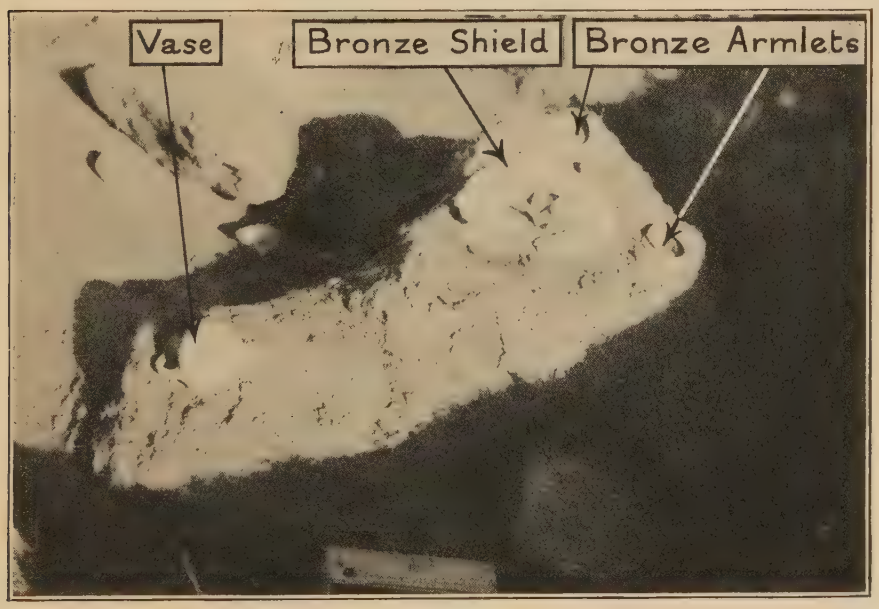


FIG. 5.—GRAVE 19.

Grave 20.—This grave was on the south-eastern end of the mound. The arrangement of this grave resembled that of Grave 19 very closely. The interment was actually on the rock surface, however, and not on a bedding of loose rocks as in Grave 19. A layer of very dark earth and inconsiderable bone fragments were all that could indicate the skeleton. The objects found, however, were arranged as in the two preceding graves. They were as follows :—

A bronze shield-centre, little damaged, measuring ·23 m. in diameter (Pl. I, *b*). The central boss projected ·027 m. and was attached in the same way as the other two. The decoration also was of the same type.

A pair of heavy armlets of one convolution each, measuring ·068 m. interior diameter and of rectangular section.

A clay ' barrel ' whorl measuring ·028 m. in height.

A gold plaque (Pl. III, 1*b*). This was found in the loose earth near the vase.

A wheel-made jug of red ware with one handle, measuring ·014 m. in height.

The shield and armlets were in the same position as in Graves 18 and 19. The

jug was at the feet. The position of the whorl and gold plaque could not be definitely fixed.

Grave 21.—This grave was, like Grave 20, at the south-eastern end of the mound. It contained the following objects :—

A bronze bird-pendant (Pl. V, 1*c*), very much fatter than any of those above recorded. It has a loop for suspension and a flattened tail. The tail surfaces are roughly incised.

A pair of heavy armlets of one convolution of rectangular section, measuring ·07 m. each in interior diameter. The ends are finely decorated with incised triangles in a row.

Some indeterminate iron fragments, perhaps of a knife.

Fragments of a thin flat bronze finger-ring.

Two bronze ' barrel ' beads of the common type. A small yellowish paste bead measuring ·01 m. in diameter.

Grave 22.—This grave was on the edge of the south-eastern end of the mound and was the last grave excavated. It contained the following :—

A wheel-made jug of red ware badly broken. The height was about ·1 m., but its shape cannot be established.

Fragments of a red-ware ' kothon ' measuring ·16 m. in diameter.

Fragments of a large red-ware two-handled bowl of the type established in the first excavations[1] (Pl. I, *d*).

Bronze object, probably part of a bow-fibula. The dimensions are similar to those of the bow-fibulae in Grave 6.

Fragments of a spectacle brooch.

A small bronze miniature jug (Pl. IV, *d*) of the ' archaic ' type, with cut-away neck and bulging body. There are two incised lines round its neck. It is hollow and measures ·04 m. in height, in diameter ·032 m., and the neck is ·01 m. in width.

A bronze button (with a loop at the back) measuring ·021 m. in diameter (Pl. II, 2*b*).

A long rectangular gold plaque (Pl. III, 1*c*) decorated with six concentric circle impressions and dots over the rest of the field. There are two holes at each end for attachment. The gold is good and yellow. The plaque measures ·065 m. in length and ·02 m. in width.

Bronze spiralling of some ·075 m. in length.

A bronze hollow bean-shaped ornament with a loop for suspension. It measures ·035 m. in length and ·015 m. in width.

Three large bronze beads of the elaborate ' barrel ' type, measuring in length ·05 m., ·038 m. and ·035 m. respectively.

Two small bronze globular beads.

The following objects were found in or near the cemetery, but cannot be certainly assigned to graves :—

(*a*) A small bronze spiral, too small for any wrist except that of a child. It measures ·04 m. in interior diameter and ·012 m. in width of the band. It has two convolutions.

(*b*) An uncertain bronze object not unlike the back of a large ' leech ' fibula. It is decorated with incised lines and measures ·1 m. in length and ·017 m. at its thickest part.

[1] Vol. xxiv. p. 22, Fig. 16.

FIG. 6.—POTTERY FROM GRAVES IN THE EASTERN MOUND. (Scale = 8 cmm.)

(*c*) A broken pair of bronze tweezers.

(*d*) A bronze button rose ornament with six petal projections; it closely resembles the ornament found in the previous excavation in the Slab Grave.[1] It has a loop for attachment at the back. It was found in the flat ground between the two mounds.

(*e*) A complete cup of hand-made grey ware from the western mound. It has a flat handle, pierced with a hole, projecting from the rim. The vessel measures ·06 m. in height and ·11 m. in diameter.

(*f*) A shallow hand-made dish of yellowish ware with a projecting handle at each end. The handles resemble the *ansa lunata* handles in *terremare* wares. From the western mound (Fig. 6*b*).

(*g*) A bronze button resembling (*d*) and with a similar loop for attachment. It has six circular holes round a central boss instead of six petals. It measures ·03 m. in diameter. From the western mound (Pl. II, 2*e*).

(*h*) A small plain button with a loop at the back for attachment; it measures ·015 m. in diameter. From the western mound.

(*i*) An iron sickle with one rivet pin. It measures ·115 m. in length and ·023 m. in width of blade. From the western mound (Pl. II, 1*d*).

(*j*) A small bronze bucket handle. It measures ·13 m. in diameter and ·085 m. at the attachment ends. The body is spirally twisted. From the western mound.

No objects other than the above were found in or on the two mounds. The objects from the western mound are on the whole different from those of the eastern mound, and no definite interments could there be established, although certain bones were found. No Hellenic or Roman objects were found on either mound.

The following objects were found in the Iron Age stratum on the Acropolis hill behind the Cemetery [2] :—

(*a*) A bronze pin with M-shaped bead (Pl. II, 2*j*). One side was missing. It measures ·085 m. in length on the preserved side.

(*b*) A broken whetstone of rectangular section with a hole for suspension. It measures ·06 m. in length and ·01 m. in width.

(*c*) A long bronze pin of the ' nail head ' type already seen in Graves 16, 17, 18 of these and in Graves 6 and 10 of the previous excavations. It measures ·33 m. in length.

The following coins were found with Hellenistic and later pottery in the top metre of deposit on the summit of the Acropolis mound :—

(*a*) Æ. obv. Female head to r.
Rev. Standing Athena and ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ.

(*b*) Æ. obv. Male head to r.
Rev. Seated Zeus. Above thunderbolt and Inscription (indecipherable) and below : ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜ.

(*c*) Æ. Roman coin, badly preserved; perhaps a small brass of Marcus Aurelius. Reverse shows a Nike.

(*d*) (*e*) Two small bronze coins not well enough preserved to be identified.

[1] Vol. xxiv. p. 8, and Pl. I. [2] See *Archaeologia*, Vol. lxxiv. p. 78, Fig. 2.

NATURE OF OBJECTS FOUND.

An analysis of the objects found affords the only means of discovering the general character of the culture which they represent. Cemeteries in general provide cultural rather than chronological evidence, and Chauchitsa is no exception to this unfortunate rule. From the graves we can now derive a fairly accurate idea of the equipment of the people buried there, but their date can still only be fixed, as far as the cemetery is concerned, within fairly wide limits.

OBJECTS OF USE.

Pottery.

No general types not recorded in the earlier excavations were discovered. The same fabric and the same shapes occurred throughout. Only, perhaps, in the case of a few single-handled cups (Fig. 3*e*, *g*, *j*) from Graves 9, 12, 15, and the dishes of Grave 15 and from the west mound (Fig. 6*b*), and in the unique lidded jar from Grave 4 (Fig. 3*f*), were there new variations of the small hand-made cups of the previous excavations.[1] The 'thumb-grip' handle and the suggestion of the *ansa lunata* in some of these (Fig. 3*g*, *i*, *j*) indicate an older tradition and a direct inheritance from lacustrine types of the Bronze Age.

Apart from these erratics the types were uniform and corresponded closely to what had already been found.

The vases were obviously either hand-made of coarse brownish ware, without polish but with a well-smoothed surface, or else wheel-made and of thin red ware, or of coarser grey ware. They may be briefly classified thus (repeating, but with fuller detail, the classification previously established)[2]:—

A. *Hand-made.* Coarse fabric, yellowish to brown, invariably containing mica particles in the clay.

Shapes: (1) jugs with cut-away necks, twisted or plain handles and globular bodies (Figs. 3*k*, *l*, *m* and 7). Height varies from about ·1 m. to ·3 m., but the large sizes (Fig. 9) were rare.

(2) Single- or double-handled cups with handles formed by projections from the rim, sometimes pierced (Fig. 6*b*, *c*).

[1] *B.S.A.* xxiv. p. 20, Fig. 13. [2] *Ibid.* p. 21.

(3) Single-handled cups with handles separately fashioned and shaped either as ' lobe-handles ' (Fig. 3*l*) or ' thumb-grip ' handles (Fig. 3*g*, *i*, *j*).

B. *Wheel-made.* Thin red fabric usually without the mica particles in the clay.

Shapes: (1) Single-handed jugs as in Graves 1 and 9 (Fig. 3*a*, *b*). The example from Grave 1 (Fig. 3*b*) was an unusual variation because of its tall, slim proportions.

(2) ' Feeding bottles,' as in Graves 8 and 15, with one handle and a spout in the side. Except for the spout they follow the types of A (1)

Fig. 7.—Hand-made Jugs. (Scale = 8 cmm.)

and B (1). Only one example was found in the earlier excavations. Nearly all shew traces of broad bands of glaze-paint.

(3) Skyphoi or Krateriskoi. Two only of this shape were found (Fig. 3*c*, *d*), in Graves 2 and 3. That in Grave 3 is decorated with a geometric design in glaze-paint of concentric circles, done with a compass. The other example shewed traces of glaze-paint bands.

(4) Large two-handled bowls. These, like the example found in 1921, were always of thin fabric and consequently broken. One good example, however, was restored (Pl. I, *d*). It comes from Grave 22.

(5) Kothons with one handle. These were common and all exactly of the type found in 1921 (Fig. 6*e*, *f*, *g*).

(6) Kantharoi of coarse grey ware. These, as in the earlier excavations, were rare. Only two examples were found from Graves 5 and 6 (Fig. 6*a*).

From this material it is evident that the twofold division into hand-made and wheel-made fabrics involves nearly as clear a division of shapes. 'Cut-away' jugs are in two instances only, wheel-made, but the other

FIG. 8.—JUGS. (Scale = 8 cmm.)

hand-made shapes do not appear in wheel technique: one possible example of a transition is seen in Grave 20, where a wheel-made jug decorated with glaze-paint suggests in its neck and in its globular shape the cut-away jug of archaic build (Fig. 6*c*).

The shapes of the wheel-made fabrics are otherwise never made by hand.

The skyphoi are essentially shapes of the usual Hellenic 'Geometric' period. The painted concentric circles of Fig. 3*c* class it with well-

known Geometric types.[1] The jugs of types B (1), and the 'feeding-bottles' of B (2) are equally 'Geometric.'

The large double-handled bowls are indeed 'Geometric' in type, but have no exact parallels in other parts of Greece.

Of the archaic shapes seen in the 'cut-away' jugs and of the kantharoi, nothing more can be said that has not already been postulated in the earlier publication.[2] It is, however, of the highest importance

Fig. 9.—Wheel-made Jug from Grave 10. (Scale 1 : 3.)

that fragments of both shapes have been found in the Iron Age strata of the mounds of Vardino and Vardaroftsi,[3] in a position immediately above the burnt layer that marks the end of the Bronze Age stratum. Both shapes seem characteristic of the Macedonian Iron Age and, as far as I know, are not found outside central Macedonia in any quantity.[4] In the archaic jugs I am inclined to see survivals from earlier periods, survivals which, as I have already suggested,[5] are echoed in other shapes

[1] See my paper in *Man*, Jan. 1924. See also Schweitzer, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der geometrischen Stele in Griechenland*, I. (Karlsruhe) Pl. III.

[2] *B.S.A.* xxiv. p. 25 ff.

[3] Heurtley, *Liverpool Annals*, Vol. xii. p. 35 and p. 36, n. 4.

[4] Except for the two Thessalian and the one Skyriot example. See *B.S.A.* xxiv. p. 27. These are isolated examples.

[5] See *Archaeologia*, Vol. lxxiv. p. 85.

of the hand-made fabric (see above, p. 17). The big jugs with incised patterns from the Acropolis at Chauchitsa and from Kilindir [1] are, perhaps, the prototypes, though the survival seems to come from an even more remote period.

One hypothesis which the earlier excavation suggested has been amply confirmed. Hand-made and wheel-made wares are found in the same burials and are, in consequence, contemporary. This is clear from the evidence of Graves 4, 8, 9, 12 and 15.

Whorls.

These were of the following shapes :—

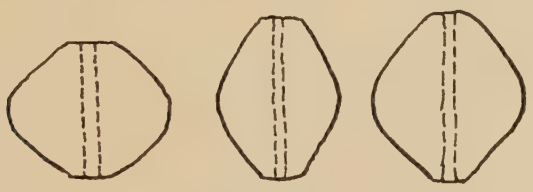


FIG. 10.—SHAPES OF IRON AGE WHORLS.

They exhibit the only clear instance of a direct survival from the Bronze Age. The Bronze Age Whorls are often decorated with incised designs, but in shape and fabric are indistinguishable from those of the Iron Age.[2] Why they should occur on the graves of warriors (Nos. 19 and 20) is not clear.

Iron.

For implements of use iron was the predominant metal. Bronze was in use in large quantities, but mainly for ornaments.

Eleven graves contained iron. It may have existed in other graves as well, but much must have been destroyed by corrosion.

Several large fragments of sword-blades were found, but in no case were there handles. Grave 2 contained a long single-edged blade with a handle rivet still attached (Pl. II, 1*a*). Another fragment of the butt end of a similar blade with two handle rivets was found in Grave 5. The same grave contained as well a fine fragment of a blade with a ribbed

[1] *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria* (1926), Figs. 35 and 36, and *Antiq. Journ.*, Pl. XII. Figs. 1 and 2, Pl. XIII. Fig. 2.

[2] See Heurtley, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIX. 5–8.

centre (Pl. II, 1*b*). It is of the same type as the blade of the bronze-handled sword [1] found during the war at Chauchitsa. Another butt-end with two handle rivets was found in Grave 17. Fragments of a large blade were found in Grave 16.

A perfect example of a knife-blade was found in Grave 3. It had no handle rivets and a single cutting edge. Its shape was suggestive of the *μάχαιρα* (Pl. II, 1*c*).

Grave 7 contained a fragment of a gently curved blade, also suggestive of the *μάχαιρα*. A similar fragment was found in Grave 17. Fragments of a small knife were found in Grave 21.

A small curved sickle (Pl. II, 1*d*) with one handle rivet was found on the west mound.

Plain iron rings (possibly for ornaments) were found in Graves 5, 7, 11 and 13, and an iron pin of some length was found inserted in the handle-loop of a pair of tweezers in Grave 3. Two similar iron pins were found in Grave 13.

Bronze.

The only utilitarian objects of bronze were small tweezers and the three large shield-centres from Graves 18, 19 and 20 (Pl. I, *a*, *b*, *c*). The largest was 31·5 cm. in diameter, the smallest 18·6 cm. Each had a powerful bronze knob in the centre. Similar shield-centres are found at Villanova and Hallstatt and in Bosnia, but they do not have the central knob. The most exact parallel for structure is the iron example from the Kynosarges site at Athens, and there is a good parallel in bronze from Kavousi in Crete.[2] These shield-centres are too small and too thin to be shields in themselves, nor was there any means of grasping them. They must have served as the metal reinforcement of leather or wooden shields, which themselves need not exceed 60 cm. in diameter and could rank as the Thracian *πέλτη*.[3] An example without the central knob was found at Chauchitsa during the war.[4]

The fact that the largest shield-centre from Grave 19 was riveted in six places with iron rivets suggests that iron had not yet supplanted bronze in general use for weapons, and confirms the transitional character

[1] *Antiq. Journ.*, Vol. i. p. 211, Fig. 3.
[2] For full references see my *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria* (1926), p. 149.
[3] See *op. cit.* p. 167.
[4] *B.S.A.* xix. Pl. VII. A.

of this site. The Kynosarges shield-centre is the product of a culture fully acquainted with the use of iron. That the bronze shield-centre was weak and had to be mended with iron shews that the owner realised the superior strength of that metal. That he did not use a shield-centre wholly made of iron suggests that he was not yet wholly familiar with its use.

Tweezers of bronze were found in Graves 2 (two pairs) and 3. They were all of the same type and similar to the pair found in the earlier excavations.[1] The example from Grave 3 held inserted through its handle an iron pin (Pl. II, 2*k*).

OBJECTS OF ORNAMENT.

Gold.

This metal, doubtless of local origin, was naturally rare. Four objects of gold only were found, and they were all of the same type. They were thin plaques of flat beaten gold pierced at each end with small holes. Two were oval and two oblong in shape. The smallest was 5·3 cm. in length, the largest 7 cm. They were found in Graves 2, 20, 22 and 3 respectively (Pl. III, 1*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*). The gold of which they are made varies slightly in colour, but the decoration in all is crude. Three out of the four have a simple design of concentric circles and dots (*a*, *c*, *d*), one (*b*) has dots only. One similar plaque was found in the previous exacavations,[2] and two were found by chance during the war,[3] thus making a total of seven. No other objects of gold were found at the site.

The purpose of these plaques is not quite certain, but it seems most likely that they were part of the funeral furnishings. The example from Graves 2 and 3 were found in the neighbourhood of the head of the skeleton and it seems probable that they were placed over the lips of the dead. The small holes at each end were perhaps to hold threads by which they were fixed, the thread passing round the back of the head. They seem thus to be the prototypes of similar gold plaques placed on the lips of the dead in Hellenic or late Geometric times.[4]

[1] *B.S.A.* xxiv. p. 16, Fig. 11.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 18, Fig. 12*a*.

[3] *Antiq. Journ.*, Vol i. Pl. VI. Fig. 2, and Pl. VII. Fig. 1.

[4] See Louvre, *Catalogue Sommaire des bijoux antiques* (1924), Pl. II., 101, 103. See also 102 and 104 in the text. All four come from Zeitenlik, some five kilometres north of Salonika. See also E. A. Gardner, *B.S.A.* xix. p. 21, Fig. 9, for another example from a grave at Aivasil near Lake Langaza.

Amber.

This was extremely rare. None was found in the earlier excavations, and only two small beads were found in 1922, in Graves 4 and 9. The former was found with other small beads and some human teeth in a vase, the latter (which was broken) touching a thin bronze wire finger-ring, upon which it may have been fixed. Amber beads of the Iron Age are known elsewhere in Macedonia only at Aivasil.[1]

Glass and Paste.

This material, compared with its frequent occurrence in Bosnia, was here rare. Five small round beads only were found in Graves 4, 7, 9, 11 and 21. All were of light or transparent glass except one (Grave 9), which was of black paste and of the Hallstatt 'eye' type. A similar bead was found in Grave 11 in 1921.[2]

Bronze.

The bulk of the numerous ornaments of the graves were in this metal. They can be classified as follows :—

Pins.—The very long nail-headed pins which were among the remarkable objects found in 1921 were found again in 1922. Four perfect examples come from Graves 13, 16, 17 and 18, and one from the Iron Age stratum on the Acropolis mound. They vary in length from 25 to 28 cm. and are all alike. They were found on or near the upper part of the body, where they may have served to pin the cloak or other garment in which the body was wrapped.

Two other types of pin were found, one (broken) from the Acropolis mound (Pl. II, 2*j*) of the common **M** type seen in so many of the Bosnian burials, another of the Ω type from Grave 1 (Pl. II, 2*d*). The latter was perfect and measured 14·5 cm. in length. It was found near the head of the body. Both may be hair pins.

Fibulae.—These were of two sorts only, the 'spectacle' fibulae and the 'bow' fibulae. The former were found also in the earlier excavations.

Spectacle fibulae (Pl. III, 2) varied in length from 15 cm. to 5 cm., and were of two or of three spirals. They were found in Graves 5, 7, 10, 13 (two examples), 18 and 22. That in Grave 10 was the largest (Pl. III, 2*a*).

[1] Gardner, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 11.

[2] *B.S.A.* xxiv. p. 21.

A pair of fine ' bow ' fibulae were found in Grave 6 (Pl. IV, *a*). They are not quite of the true ' Dipylon ' type of which an example was found during the war.[1]

Beads.—For the most part these are of the same ' barrel ' type, but there are many variations (Pl. IV, *b*, *c*). A rare type is that of a cylindrical shape (*e.g.* Graves 4 and 13) with a rib round the waist. Beads were found in groups, obviously from necklaces, or in ones and twos. The largest number in any burial was fourteen, from Grave 13 (Pl. IV, *c*). Even so this number was not enough to encircle a neck. They may have been used round the wrists.

Single beads of great size and weight were found in Graves 1, 4 and 5, and in Grave 13 and 22 there were three such in each interment; in Grave 8 there were two. Heavy flattened beads whose width was greater than their height (Pl. II, *2i*) were found in Graves 1 and 13. The example from the first of these two graves was decorated with incised concentric circles.

Beads were the most frequent form of ornament and shewed considerable variation of type.

Armlets and wristlets.—These are so distinguished solely by their size. They were the most numerous of all bronze ornaments.

Heavy armlets were found in pairs in Graves 5, 6, 8, 18, 19, 20 and 21. Those of Grave 21 were elaborately decorated with incised triangles. Single heavy armlets came from Graves 9 and 13, and a fragment from Grave 7.

A thin wire armlet of light convolutions came from Grave 11, and a spiral armlet of the type found in 1921 [2] from Grave 16.

That the heavy armlets were worn by men is certain from the fact that they were found in Graves 18, 19 and 20, which contained the shield-centres (Fig. 5). The lighter varieties may have been worn by women.

Finger-rings.—These were either heavy or light. They occur in Graves 2, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16 and 21. Those from Graves 9, 11 and 12 are of wire of several convolutions. Sometimes they are made of strips of flattened metal, as in Graves 10, 13, 16 and 21. Graves 10 and 13 held several examples each.

Buttons.—This seems the only possible name to give to the small bronze ornament with a loop at the back (for attachment) found in Grave

[1] *Antiq. Journ.*, Vol. i. Pl. VII. Fig. 2 (6). [2] *B.S.A.* xxiv. p. 14, Fig. 10.

22 (Pl. II, 2*b*), and to the similar ornaments (*e*), (*h*) (Pl. II, 2*e*), and (*i*) from the western mound and near it. All can be compared with the similar ornament from the Slab Grave found outside the cemetery in 1921.

Spiralling.—Under this title must be placed a large quantity of thin twisted bronze, usually in lengths of some centimetres. That it was used as ornament is certain. The best examples come from Graves 4 (22 cm. of small and 2 cm. of a larger size), 8 (15 cm.), 11 (7 cm.), 13 (11 cm.), 16 (20 cm.), 22 (7·5 cm.). Its position in graves could not be accurately fixed, and it may perhaps, like many of the lighter bronze rings, have been used as a hair or head ornament.

Pendants : Birds.—These were numerous and various. The commonest were shaped like birds. Graves 4, 10, 13, 16 and 21 produced seven between them (Pl. V, 1). Of these, a pair from Grave 13 (Pl. V, 1*b*) were remarkable for having upon the back of each a miniature jug of the type with the ' cut-away ' neck so common in the excavations. The handle of the jug served for the suspension of the pendant. The pendant from Grave 21 (Pl. V, 1*c*), was, unlike the others, fat-bodied and hollow : it had been cast in two parts. Like all the rest except those from Grave 13, it had a loop for suspension independent of its form. In Grave 16 were two bird-pendants, one of the normal type (Pl. V, 1*d*), the other unlike any of the others (Pl. V, 1*e*). The latter was quite flat and had a tail that curved round below. Its form is so schematic that it is hard to say if it is a bird or a quadruped.

The importance of this group of pendants is considerable. Others have been found at the site,[1] and at the neighbouring village of Ghevgheli.[2] They agree in type with many similar pendants from Bosnia and also from nearly all the Geometric sites of Greece proper. As a typical ornament of the Geometric culture they stand out above the other ornaments found.

Amulets.—This seems the safest title under which to classify a group of remarkable ornaments for which no very satisfactory parallel from other sites can be found. Altogether four examples with lids, and the lid of a fifth, were found in 1922. They come from Graves 4, 8, 9 and 13. One good example was found in 1921,[3] and a lid during the war.[4] Of these

[1] *Antiq. Journ.*, Vol. ii. Pl. VI. Fig. 2.
[2] *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* (1925), ii. Pl. CV.*a*.
[3] *B.S.A.* xxiv. p. 18, Fig. 12(*b*).
[4] *Antiq. Journ.*, Vol. i. Pl. VII. Fig. 1.

four examples two (from Graves 4 and 9) had lids the side terminals of which were roughly fashioned as birds' heads (Pl. V, 2*b*, *c*). In another (Grave 13) these terminals were plain (Pl. V, 2*d*). The fourth (from Grave 8) was unique in type and by far the largest so far found (Pl. V, 2*a*). Its two lid-terminals fitted closely against two similar projections from the sides. All four were turned up at the ends like horns.

The essential features of the type, common to all examples found before and during 1922, are a bulging pot-shaped body, with a button-like projection above and below.

The lid in no case fits by itself to the body, but clearly required some medium of attachment. Such medium must have been found in a cord for suspension which passed through two holes, one on each side of the body through a projecting lug and continued through the superimposed lid. The hole was transverse and not vertical, so that, if knotted below the lug, it would hold the lid on tightly to the body when the amulet was suspended; when not suspended the lid could easily be lifted.

Nothing was found inside these amulets, and no suggestion can be made as to their precise meaning or purpose. Only one parallel from Greece proper can be adduced; it comes from Olympia [1] and lacks a lid. Its terminals are shaped as horses' heads. A pot with a similar lid was found in Grave 14.

Other pendants.—One pendant of an important type was a small bronze jug (Pl. IV, *d*) with a 'cut-away' neck from Grave 22. In type it was exactly that of the 'archaic' vases from the graves.

It derives some interest from the fact that similar pendants have been found at Verria and at Sparta,[2] and also at Ghevgheli on the Vardar.[3]

Two bean-shaped pendants were found in Graves 10 (Pl. V, 1*f*), and 22. No parallels are known.

Of the other objects found none is of sufficient merit to deserve particular mention, except an iron fibula of La Téne type (Pl. II, 2*a*), and three uncertain bronze ornaments (Pl. II, 2*c*, *g*, *h*), of which two (*c* and *h*) are from Grave 13.

[1] *Olympia*, IV Pl. XXIII, No. 416. Other examples come from near Amphipolis (in Vienna) and from Dedeli near Lake Doiran (now in Leipzig).

[2] Neither has been published. The former is in the Collection of Antiquities in the Prefecture at Salonika, the latter in the Sparta Museum.

[3] *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* (1925), ii. Pl. CV.*b*. Another comes from Amphipolis.

CHRONOLOGY.

From a consideration of all the objects found no exact idea of chronology emerges. The wide dating of 1100–650 B.C. suggested in the publication of the earlier excavations can only be repeated here.

But since 1922 the excavations of Mr. Heurtley at Vardino and Vardaroftsi [1] have laid bare an Iron Age stratum at these sites which immediately overlies the Bronze Age stratum, with a burnt stratum at the top of that of the Bronze Age. My own excavations on the Acropolis hill of Chauchitsa and in 1925 at Kilindir revealed traces of a similar Iron Age settlement at the former site upon a Bronze Age stratum, and a complete destruction of the Bronze Age settlement at the latter site followed by abandonment without traces of reoccupation in the Iron Age.[2]

The latest elements of the Bronze Age at all four sites contained imported Mycenaean wares of the very latest Mycenaean type, datable at about 1200 B.C. There are no signs of abandonment after destruction in three out of four of these Bronze Age sites and an immediate reoccupation in the Iron Age compels us to date the Iron Age to 1150–1100 in its earliest form. An early date is suggested by the very strong survivals of Bronze Age shapes and technique already referred to. It is further emphasised by the discovery at the site during the war of a sword which is of a very early type transitional between Bronze and Iron Ages.[3] This dating is further confirmed by the type of pottery found in Grave 2, which, from its position, is clearly one of the earlier graves in the cemetery, since it had Grave 1 superimposed upon it. The skyphos or krateriskos with glaze-painted concentric circles is of the earliest type of Geometric pottery,[4] dated by Schweitzer to about 1100. The contents of Grave 1, on the other hand, is later. The red jug is of a type rarely seen at Chauchitsa and, the Ω-shaped pin is of a type found in quite late burials in Bosnia.[5] The type does not occur elsewhere in the cemetery or in the strata.

In the same way Grave 9 overlies Grave 19, and traces of another interment were found under Grave 8, so that the objects in Graves 8 and 9

[1] *Liverpool Annals*, op. cit. [2] *Antiq. Journ.* Vol. vi. p. 71.

[3] *Ibid.* Vol. i. Fig. 3. A close parallel can be seen in a bronze ' antennae ' sword from Italy, also of early date. *Mon. Ant.* xv. Pl. III. Another good example in the museum at Prague.

[4] *Man*, January, 1924, p. 7, n., and reference there given.

[5] *Wissensch. Mitth. Bos. Herz.* Vol. iv. p. 3 ff., xi. p. 101 ff. and xii. p. 21, fig. 14.

can be considered as relatively later than the lower graves. At the same time, all the graves except 1, 8 and 9 were upon the rock surface, and it seems that no very great period of time was covered by the cemetery. The whole mound if completely explored could hardly produce more than 150 burials, and, on the assumption that this was the only graveyard of the inhabitants of the Acropolis mound, this does not indicate a very long period of occupation.

The Iron Age intruders who had sacked and burned the Bronze Age settlement do not seem to have remained long, to judge by the scanty Iron Age stratum representing their settlement, and the cemetery may, therefore, include war casualties. The similarity in type of the grave-furniture indicates a short period. At the same time Iron Age types were persistent and long-lived.

We can therefore be certain of the *terminus post quem* of 1150–1100,[1] but we are not yet in a position to give the *terminus ante quem*.

One important conclusion, at least, is clear; namely, that the greater part of the Vardar Valley, at a time when its indigenous culture had established peaceful relations with the Mycenaean world, was overwhelmed by a powerful body of invaders whose culture corresponds in general with the earliest known forms of Hellenic culture of the first millennium B.C.

S. CASSON.

[1] Mr. Heurtley accepts this dating, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

POTTERY FROM MACEDONIAN MOUNDS.

(Plate VI.)

I.—In West Chalcidice [1] (Pl. VI, 1.)

The pottery described below was picked up by Mr. Cuttle and myself on mounds, many of which have been noted by Wace or Rey (*locc. citt.*). We have retained their numbering, so as to avoid confusion. Of the mounds mentioned by Rey, we visited his 2, 3, 4, 5, but not 1, 6, 7, 8. Of those noted and visited by Wace we re-examined A 3, B 8, B 9 and C 9. Of those noted but not visited by him, we visited B 12, B 13, B 15. We could not identify his B 14. On B 13 we found no sherds at all, and it may be a burial tumulus, like A 3. We also collected sherds from a site (not a mound) in the hills one hour north-east of Gerakiní, shewn us by Mr. Bliss of the Anglo-Hellenic Magnesite Company at Gerakiní, and from three mounds in the Ormylia valley, marked Ormylia 1,[2] 2, 3 on the map (Pl. VI, 1).

In the light of Thessalian finds and of recent excavations made in Macedonia, viz. at Várdino and Vardaróftsi by the British School, and by Casson at Kilindir, most of the pottery found can be classified as follows :—

(1) *Pre-Mycenaean.*[3]—(*a*) Black or brown on red, or white on red (Fig. 1) = Wace's 2 (*c*) (*loc. cit.*). Hand-made brick-red ware with a polished surface, decorated with simple patterns of curved lines in black paint which often has a purplish tinge. On account of the comparative thinness of its fabric and the simplicity of its patterns, it resembles Thessalian B 3 δ [4] rather than the second category of B 3 *a*. One of the specimens, however, has the small vertically-pierced lug at the rim so characteristic of Dhimini bowls (Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric*

[1] References : Wace, *B.S.A.* xx. pp. 123–32; Rey, *B.C.H.* Vol. xli–xliii. pp. 161–8.

[2] The site of Sermyle.

[3] Mycenaean here = Late Helladic III.

[4] Fig. 1, 7 is part of a 'tumbler,' resembling *Preh. Thess.*, Fig. 54 *b*, the fabric of which (B 3 ε) is closely akin to B 3 δ.

Thessaly, p. 76, Fig. 36), and, being of thicker fabric, should be classed as B 3 *a* (2). The two specimens of white on red (Nos. 4, 14) are akin to B 3 *a* (1). Found at 4, B 9, B 12, B 15, C 9, and Ormylia 2.

(*b*) Black polished ware: only two fragments = Wace's 2 (*f*). These closely resemble the black ware, sometimes plain but usually with white painted decoration, so common in the pre-Mycenaean stratum at Várdino (*Liverpool Annals*, Vol. xii. Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 19, 20; and Pls. VIII. and IX.). Whether our specimens are parts of painted vases

FIG. 1.—BLACK ON RED WARE FROM CHALCIDICE. 4, 14, WHITE ON RED. (Scale 1 : 2.)

or not, it is impossible to say. The fabric resembles Thessalian Γ 1 *a* (1). Found at B 9 and B 15.

(*c*) Grey Minyan. Seven fragments, of which two are wheel-made. This is true Minyan, though perhaps made in Macedonia, and easily distinguishable from the local grey polished ware described below 2 (*a*). As the *floruit* of Grey Minyan lies between Middle Helladic I. and Late Helladic II. (end), it is classified here as pre-Mycenaean, though there is reason to suppose that in some places it survived well into Late Helladic III. Found at B 8,[1] B 9, B 12, and Ormylia 3.

[1] On the small mound that lies just south-east of the large mound at Mekyberna (B 8). One fragment is part of the ringed stem of a large goblet.

(*d*) Ware resembling Thessalian Γ 3 β or Δ 1 γ. For the description of these wares see *Preh. Thess.* pp. 19 and 21. We found four specimens of the wish-bone handle in this ware, two exactly corresponding to types illustrated in *Preh. Thess.*, p. 186, Fig. 134 *a*, *c*, from Lianokladhi. Found at B 9, and B 12.

(*e*) Incised, hand-made. Only two fragments. One is chalk-filled. It may be of pre-Mycenaean or Mycenaean date (*Liverpool Annals, loc. cit.*,[1] pp. 25, 26; Pl. XIV.). Found at B 9 and B 12.

(2) *Mycenaean and contemporary.*—(*a*) Plain ware, hand-made = Wace's 1 *b*. This ware is described by Wace as follows: 'Fairly well-made ware, varying in colour from yellow-brown to dark brown and reddish.' It includes several large wish-bone handles, which differ in size and shape from those associated with Γ 3 β or Δ 1 γ ware (= 1 (*d*) above). The *floruit* of this type of handle has been shewn from the excavation at Várdino to be in the Mycenaean age, although it is found earlier, in small quantities. It continued in a changed form and less highly polished far into the post-Mycenaean period, associated with small bowls. Found at 2, 4, B 9, B 12, B 15, C 9, and Ormylia 3.

(*b*) *Mycenaean.* It is not always easy to distinguish, especially in small fragments, Mycenaean, sub-Mycenaean and their derivatives, which, as the upper strata at Vardavóftsi have shewn, continue unchanged to the fourth century in Macedonia. We have therefore classified here only those which appear to be in form and fabric genuine L.H. III. These include part of a kylix stem, of a bowl with pinched-out handles (cf. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 63, Fig. 88), and of four bowls of ordinary L.H. III. type. The decoration consists mostly of horizontal bands. Found at 2, B 9, B 12, C 9.

(*c*) Hand-made painted pottery with brown-violet or brown matt-paint decoration on a buff ground = Wace's 2 (*b*) (*loc. cit.*, p. 130). This is Rey's 'brun violacé sur fond clair' (*loc. cit.*, pp. 228–33). It varies much in quality and the better specimens resemble Δ 1 γ. Its *floruit* is the Mycenaean age, but it occurs earlier.[2] Found at 4, B 2, B 15.

(3) *Post-Mycenaean.*—(*a*) Mycenaean derivative ware resembling Thessalian Δ 1 *a*. Wheel-made ware, usually of thin fabric, but hard and brittle, with glaze-paint decoration, often thinly and carelessly

[1] Cited henceforward as '*Várdino*.'

[2] Cf. Rey, *loc. cit.*, p. 229.

applied. Sometimes the whole vase is covered, but more often the decoration consists of horizontal bands. Recent excavation at Vardaróftsi has shewn that this ware continues practically unchanged from the close of the Mycenaean age (whenever that occurred in Macedonia) to the fourth century and later. Far the most common shape is a bowl with horizontal loop handles, and a flat or slightly raised base; it is clearly derived from a L.H. III. type. Found at 2, B 8, B 9, B 12, Gerakiní and Ormylia 1.

(*b*) Local Geometric = Wace's 2 (*e*) (*loc. cit.*). This is a wheel-made ware with geometric decoration, often concentric circles, in purple paint: it is perhaps a survival of 2 (*c*) above, and Rey treats them together. It is sometimes considered to be a local variant of true Geometric, but, to judge from the stratification at Vardaróftsi, it continues to the end of the fifth century, and is most common in the sixth and seventh. Found at 2, B 12, B 8, and Ormylia 1.

(*c*) Plain ware with impressed decoration. Two sherds from B 12.

(*d*) Plain ware, sometimes wheel-made, grey, red and reddish-brown, unpolished. It is the common Early Iron Age ware of the Vardar region, and the most common shape is a jug with cut-away neck. Of these we found fragments at B 8, Ormylia 1 and Gerakiní.

(4) *Hellenic and Hellenistic.*—(*a*) Black glazed ware. Found at 2, 3, 5, B 8, C 9, Gerakiní and Ormylia 1, 2 and 3.

(*b*) Plain wheel-made ware. Most of the pottery from Ormylia 1 belongs to this category.

In addition to the pottery, a bored celt was found. Ormylia 3.

It will be seen that most of the pottery agrees closely with that described by Wace, and the inference is that the coast settlements shared the same culture as the interior. Three general observations may be made:—

(1) The frequency of the black on red is noteworthy, and together with the Γ 3 β sherds confirms the suggested relationship with Thessaly.

(2) Remarkable too is the almost entire absence on all the sites of certain Iron Age types which characterise the Vardar valley, *e.g.*, the grey wheel-made cups, and bowls with horizontal triangular handles.[1]

(3) The early incised styles are not represented in the finds, the later incised by only one example.

[1] Of the latter one specimen was found at Ormylia 1.

(4) The finding of Early Iron Age types on the flat-topped mounds shews that these sites were occupied before the period of Greek colonisation, as was also the case at Vardaróftsi. (Table.)

II.—In Western Macedonia.

(A) *The Haliakmon Valley.*

On a mound at Buboshte, on the west bank of the Haliakmon, five kilometres north-west of Lapsista, M. Pelekides, Ephor of Antiquities for Macedonia, has recently collected pottery which he has kindly allowed me to see and include here. Apart from sherds of the fourth and third centuries B.C., almost all the pottery seems to be pre-Iron Age, and most belongs to the category 2 (*c*) described above (p. 32). As it is nearly all of the coarse variety, it perhaps belongs to the pre-Mycenaean rather than to the Mycenaean stage of this ware. All these sherds have the purplish matt paint characteristic of Macedonia. One sherd is especially interesting. The outside is decorated with purple-brown paint on a polished red ground (category 1 (*a*)), the inside with purple paint on a buff ground (category 2 (*c*)), an indication that the two styles overlap. One other sherd should also be classed as 1 (*a*), and one has bright red paint instead of purple. There is one sherd with white paint on a brown slip. The fragment of a jug (2 (*c*) but of finer fabric than the rest) is exactly parallel to an almost complete jug recently found by Casson in a Mycenaean context at Kilindir. The patterns on all this ware are simple geometric and curvilinear. In view of its position near the Thessalian border, the excavation of this mound should yield valuable results.

(B) *In the Plain of Monastir*[1] (Pl. VI., 2).

In September, 1925, I visited five of the seven toumbas in the plain of Monastir, mentioned by Rey, and collected sherds from each.

As stated by Rey, the mounds are low, compared with the majority of Macedonian mounds, and the deposit of which they are composed cannot anywhere be more than seven metres high, and in most cases a good deal less. The toumba at Optičar (3) [2] is so low and flat that it

[1] Reference: Rey, *B.C.H.* xli–xliii. pp. 171–5, with map and three illustrations. This map is here reproduced by the courtesy of M. Rey.

[2] Rey's numbering is retained.

can only with difficulty be distinguished. It is the only one of the toumbas visited which has not been disturbed : the toumbas of Karaman

FIG. 2.—MOUND OF NOVAK.

(1) and Novak (6) (Fig. 2) had been tunnelled through during the War; those of Novak, Ribarci (7) and Kravari (4) (Fig. 3) all have churches and

FIG. 3.—MOUND OF KRAVARI.

cemeteries on them. The tunnelling at Novak had exposed at the lowest level what looked like a layer of large stones, on which, perhaps, the first settlement was raised.

The pottery to be found on these mounds is not abundant either on the surface or where cuttings have exposed the interior. It is all hand-made, of local greyish clay, full of particles of mica, and with three exceptions which shew traces of paint, monochrome.

Coarse Ware. Most of the ware found is coarse and unpolished,

FIG. 4.—JUG FROM MOUND OF KARAMAN. (Scale 1 : 2.)

and of no special significance. Lying in the tunnel at Karaman, however, was an almost complete jug which has, as far as I know, no close parallel either in Macedonia or Thessaly (Fig. 4). In shape it resembles an Early Helladic tankard, but with one large handle, flattened at the sides.[1] At the points of attachment to the body, the extremities of the handle are pressed out to form two horizontal ridges which project on

[1] For a similar handle cf. Rey, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV. 3.

either side. The biscuit is ashy grey, but the surface brown, except where defective firing has left a black patch.

Among other specimens of coarse ware may be noted, a fragment of a high jug of the same shape as that from Rakhmani II. (*Preh. Thess.*, Pl. I.) and from Várdino I. (*op. cit.*, Pl. XVII. 34); part of the rim of a wide bowl with red surface and horizontal sides (cf. *Várdino*, Fig. 4, 21, and Pl. XI. 4); a black polished horizontally-pierced lug (cf. *Várdino*, Pl. XV. 23, 24); a broad tubular handle from some large jar (cf. Rey, *op. cit.*, Pl. III, 5 and VI. 3); a large rectangular lug (cf. *Preh. Thess.*, Fig. 101 *h*, from Zerelia); a piece of grey polished ware identical with that from stratum I. at Várdino (cf. *Várdino*, Pl. XI. 7–12); and part of the rim of a beaked jug.

Fine Ware. Of the finer wares, there are five sherds of good fabric, with a red slip and polished: one is part of a ribbon handle (cf. *Preh. Thess.*, Fig. 40 *c*), one part of a vase with a flat base. The fragments are very small, and resemble the A 1 ware of Thessaly. There is one piece of very thin highly-polished black ware, of the same fabric as the Γ 1 *α* 1 ware of Thessaly (*Preh. Thess.*, Fig. 55 *a–l*), but it has an incised instead of a painted line. It also closely resembles the typical ware of Várdino I. (cf. *Várdino*, Pl. IX.). It may be compared also with Rey's incised style No. 1 (cf. Rey, *op. cit.*, Fig. 29, and Pl. XIII. 2, 3, 5, 7, 9). The fragment comes from a bowl, and the incised line marks the division between neck and shoulder. There are three small fragments of painted ware; one, part of the handle of a buff-coloured vase, with an isolated wavy line in brown paint in the middle, very like that illustrated in *Preh. Thessaly*, Fig. 54 *b*, which it closely resembles in fabric (B 3 *ε*); another piece of similar ware with a curved line; and a piece of dull white polished ware on which a drop of red paint has fallen.

Part of a large stone axe, unpolished, with rounded butt, was also found. The type could not be determined.

The scantiness of the finds clearly does not permit any exact conclusions to be drawn as to the period during which these mounds were occupied. The most that can be affirmed is that the pottery exhibits close affinities with both that of Thessaly and Macedonia in their pre-Mycenaean stages.

W. A. HEURTLEY

NOTES ON THE HARBOURS OF S. BOEOTIA, AND SEA-TRADE BETWEEN BOEOTIA AND CORINTH IN PREHISTORIC TIMES.[1]

(Plate VII.)

The following notes were made partly in the course of a voyage taken in a small sailing boat in the late summer of 1922, from Corinth across the gulf, and along the Boeotian coast, during which all the south Boeotian harbours, as well as Voulis in Phokis, were visited, and partly in the course of subsequent visits from the land side. It is hoped that the notes may supplement, if they cannot improve upon, Mr. Gomme's excellent description of this part of Boeotia, and at the same time throw some light on trading relations between the two sides of the gulf in pre-Hellenic times.

Of the three possible harbours from which Thebes could be reached from the south, the nearest to Thebes is Kreusis, or, as it is now called, Livadóstro. The difficulties of the journey from there to Plataea are vividly described by Mr. Gomme (*op. cit.*, p. 204), but there is reason to think that communication between Livadóstro and Thebes has always passed through Parapoúngia or its ancient representative Eutresis, rather than through Plataea. At the present day there are two paths to Parapoúngia, which serve the east and west sides respectively of the Livadóstro plain. Of these the eastern keeps along the bed of the Oëroë to the point where the Voroníeza brook comes in, and then climbs

[1] For the topography of this district, cf.: Leake, *Travels in N. Greece*, ii. pp. 501–25; Σκιᾶς, Ἐπετηρὶς Παρνασσοῦ, IV. (1900), pp. 114–39; Lebègue, *De oppidis et portibus Megaridis ac Boiotiae*, pp. 82–114; Gomme, *B.S.A.* xviii. (1911–12), pp. 203–5; Frazer, *Pausanias*, Vol. V. pp. 160–4, and p. 133.

For the trade: Shewan, *Class. Review*, 1918, pp. 4 *sqq.*, and 169; Leaf, *Homer and History*, p. 212.

'There seems every reason to believe that Thebes lay on an important trade-route from the south, which passed from Corinth across the Corinthian Gulf to Thisbe, and thence to the north. Search for a prehistoric settlement in the neighbourhood of Thisbe should yield extremely valuable results.' Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 118.

'The track of the old high-road from Mycenae as it winds its way from near the Lion Gate over the foot of the hills towards Kleonae is still discernible. Future researches may yet reveal the traces of its continuation on the Boeotian side.' Evans, *J.H.S.* xlv. p. 3.

the hillside to the north; the western starts to rise at once, and keeping well above the river-bed, ascends the gorge of a small stream to the ridge on which stand the Hellenic tower and the chapel of Hágios Mámas. Both paths keep to the north bank of the Oëroë, and unite about twenty minutes from Parapoúngia; in both cases the first part of the route is easy, the latter part very steep.

It seems that in Mycenaean times the difficulties of this part of the journey were overcome by artificial means. For, in the gorge of the small stream which the western path ascends, at its steepest part, and high above it, the line of an ancient road appears running horizontally along the side of the mountain on the west. It is built of large roughly-hewn, unworked blocks, quarried on the mountains, some of them as much as a metre long and 75 cm. high, with small stones packed between. To judge from the masonry, rough as it is, these supporting walls are certainly Mycenaean.[1] Some sections have collapsed, but the road can be followed for nearly a mile. From Hágios Mámas to Parapoúngia it probably followed the same direction as the modern path. The peasants say that it was used as recently as Turkish times, by caravans passing between Eremókastro (Thespiae) and Livadóstro; and the existence of such a road explains why, in Frankish days, Livadóstro was preferred as the port for Thebes, and why all travellers from the west disembarked there, although the harbour itself is bad, and exposed to southerly gales which sweep across from Mt. Geráneia with extraordinary suddenness and fury. It was my experience to witness both the windless and almost unnatural calm which gave this sea its name, and one of the storms which made it notorious in antiquity. Writing of the voyage to Kreusis, Pausanias says: Πλοῦς δὲ εἰς Κρεῦσίν ἐστιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου σκολιός τε καὶ ἄλλως οὐκ εὔδιος· ἄκραι τε γὰρ ἀνέχουσιν ὡς μὴ κατ' εὐθὺ τῆς θαλάσσης περαιοῦσθαι, καὶ ἅμα ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν καταπνέουσιν ἄνεμοι βίαιοι (IX. 32, 1); and it was crossing the shoulder of Mt. Kithairon that overhangs the bay, that the Lacedaemonians under Kleombrotos were overtaken by one of these storms, so violent that their shields were blown from their hands, and many of their baggage animals swept off the track into the sea.[2] In Hellenic times the harbour was protected by a mole; to-day,

[1] Of the wheel-tracks which the peasants told Skiás (*op. cit.*, p. 128) were visible near Hágios Mámas, I found some possible, but no certain traces.

[2] Xen., *Hell.*, V. 4, 17.

Livadóstro is deserted, but farther east in the same bay the small port of Hágios Vassílios is used by the inhabitants of Kaparelli for shipping olives. On the south slope of the castle mound at Livadóstro I picked up sherds of grey and yellow Minyan, and part of an Ephyraean goblet. Though an isolated example, this sherd is significant, as Ephyraean ware seems to have been a Corinthian speciality and, so far, has been found north of the gulf only at Orchomenos, Eutresis and Thebes.[1]

A little west of Livadóstro bay, and separated from it by a high rugged arm of Mt. Korombíli, lies the 'magnificent bay of Domvréna,'[2] $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, protected across its entrance by a string of islands. In its recesses are three harbours: Haliké, the most easterly, is turned to the west; Hágios Ioánnes, below Domvréna, is a deep narrow creek, exposed only to the south, and further west, in an almost land-locked bay, lies the tiny harbour of Vathý, sheltered from all winds.

Of these three, Haliké is a crescent-shaped plain, shut in by high mountains, Korombíli on the east and its high ridges on the south and north. Towards its southern end, this plain is broken by a sharp rocky spine, running east and west, and fortified along the top by a Hellenic wall of close-fitting blocks, with ruined towers and gateways, which ends in a mole projecting some thirty yards into the sea. On the southern slopes of this acropolis many L.H. III. and Minyan sherds can be picked up, and just below the summit on the same side are traces of a wall of big blocks that is probably Mycenaean.

Haliké is a strong place, but the communications with the interior are not good. The only way out (except the mountain track to Livadóstro, as rough and difficult as can be found in Greece) is over the high ridge to the north. Just before the summit a track diverges to the left and goes over a stony moor to the plain and town of Domvréna, $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours from Haliké. The other track continues northward and, passing the ruins of the Hellenic fortress on the summit, drops into a narrow valley, which, bearing north-east, leads by an easy route to Xeronomé, and so to Thespiae and Thebes. All things considered, Haliké is a natural alternative to Livadóstro as a port for the Thespiae district, and in bad weather might be preferred. The few ships that call here to-day come

[1] At Orchomenos, to judge from sherds in the Chaironeia Museum; at Eutresis in Miss Goldman's excavations, not yet published; at Thebes, to judge from illustrations in Δελτίον, 3.

[2] *Mediterranean Pilot.*

to fetch the salt from which the place takes its name; otherwise it produces nothing except olives.

Hágios Ioánnes is the regular port of Domvréna and Kakósi (the ancient Thisbe). A considerable trade from the interior also passes here, and half-a-dozen caïques at once may often be seen in its narrow harbour. Grain and maize from the Kopäís district are shipped here for the Peloponnese. It has a quay and a customs-house, and a road connects with Domvréna, and so with Thebes. The ascent from the harbour is short and soon reaches the marsh south of Domvréna, whence there is another rise, and then the road to Thebes is easy. The chief objections to the harbour are that it is small, that it is exposed to southerly gales (instances occur of boats being badly damaged when insecurely moored), and that there is an absence of drinking-water, which has to be brought from Domvréna.

Vathý, the next harbour in Domvréna bay, is safer and has drinking-water, but is very little used. It communicates by a very steep path with the road from Hágios Ioánnes. A small bit of Hellenic wall stands just at the point where the path begins to ascend from the tiny beach, and above on the perpendicular cliff to the east is the base of an Hellenic tower which commanded a view of both harbours. No prehistoric remains have been found at either place, and while at Hágios Ioánnes there is room for only a few houses, at Vathý there is room for none at all.

That a prehistoric settlement existed at Thisbe is now certain, from other evidence besides that of the 'Treasure;'[1] for on the Acropolis that lies just above and west of Kakósi, Minyan and Late Helladic III. sherds can be found; and about half-a-mile north-west of the village I was shewn the site of a Mycenaean cemetery. Three chamber-tombs with dromoi can be traced, and no doubt there are more. The pottery found in one, which was excavated by the peasants, was L.H. III.

Besides commanding the road to Thebes and Thespiae, Thisbe stands at the southern end of the Steveníko pass, which, crossing Helikon by a low saddle between the main peak and the Zagorá, leads direct to Orchomenos and the heart of the Kopäís. In his account of routes to the coast, Mr. Gomme makes no mention of it, and yet it is neither high[2] nor difficult. The southern side is moderately steep, but the

[1] Evans, *J.H.S.* xlv. pp. 1–42.

[2] 3165 feet (Baedeker's *Greece*, 1909, p. 161).

present track mounts by easy windings, and when once the top is reached the descent into the plain is easy. At the point where the path joins the Livadiá-Halíartos road, at the entrance to the Steveníko valley, stood in prehistoric times a place of some importance, for on the large mound of Kalámai, members of the British School have recently picked up large quantities of Early, Middle and Late Helladic sherds, and the site would well repay excavation.

Sailing west out of Domvréna harbour you go between the island of Phoniá and the mainland, and just before reaching Cape Tamboúrlo the small harbour of Trachíli appears, tucked away in the north-west angle of a broad bay. After rounding the cape, the harbour of Sarándi opens out, running far into the land. It is a wide harbour, and safe places may be found in it in all weathers. But there is no quay, and sudden storms rush down from the slope of Helikon, intensified by the shape of the long valley, which, sloping gently to the sea, forms a kind of funnel. Down the centre of this valley runs a rocky spur of Helikon terminating abruptly about a mile-and-a-half from the sea in a steep crag, with sheer precipices on its western side. Here stood the Hellenic fortress of Chorsiai guarding the frontier between Boeotia and Phokis, and here, in Mycenaean times, was a settlement, for on the slopes above the western precipices L.H. III. sherds as well as Minyan can be picked up.

No great trade with the interior can ever have passed through Chorsiai, as the two passes which go over Helikon behind it are too difficult. Strategically it must always have been important, for both passes might be used by armies, and it was by one of them that Kleombrotos came before the battle of Leuctra. The path to the little sea-town of Voúlis [1] also joins them at this point.

To sum up: Livadóstro is nearest to Thebes in point of distance by land, but the approach to it by sea is often dangerous. Domvréna bay has three excellent harbours, one of which, Hágios Ioánnes, communicates easily with the fertile plain of Thisbe, and from there by an easy road with Thebes, and by a more difficult track (suitable only for animal-transport) with Orchomenos. Haliké has a good harbour but the communications with the interior are poor.

It seems then that Hágios Ioánnes is the port that would be pre-

[1] At Voúlis I found one Neolithic sherd (Thessalian B 3 α) and a few Minyan.

ferred for merchandise entering Boeotia from the south; and the remains at Thisbe shew that here was, in fact, the most important of the towns on this coast. Livadóstro and Haliké could be used as alternatives; the former, as the Mycenaean road shews, being the more important. Given the necessary conditions for trade between the two sides of the gulf, there is no reason why it should not have passed by any of them,[1] as circumstances invited or allowed.

The question arises, at what period during the prehistoric age were such conditions fulfilled, *i.e.* when did a sufficient supply and demand exist to create active trading relations? The presence of almost identical cultures in both areas does not of necessity imply continuous intercourse. Invaders or immigrants, passing from one area to the other, would not always remain in touch with those who were left behind. One can only presuppose active trading relations when production on both sides is in excess of local requirements. As far as we can tell the Early Helladic period does not fulfil these conditions. The Early Helladic settlements have more the appearance of groups of small colonies, which, once established, developed on their own lines. Hence the difference between the culture of Korákou and that of Boeotia, between which general resemblance, but not identity, exists. There is no evidence of the unmistakable products of one region passing to another in large quantities. For the Middle Helladic period the case is somewhat different. The appearance at Korákou of Minyan goblets of so-called northern type may perhaps be taken as indications of an export-trade (from Orchomenos?), but it is equally possible that they were made locally by immigrants from Boeotia. According to Forsdyke [2] the Argive plain produces clay suitable for making this ware; and, if so, its manufacture in the Corinthia is easily explained, while the stratification of Korákou supports the immigration theory.

In the Late Helladic I. period Mycenae was importing pottery and other things from Crete, but had not yet, as far as we can tell, become a producing centre herself. The Thisbe treasure, however, shews that 'objets de luxe' were beginning to pass from the south into Boeotia, though the majority of them perhaps reached Thisbe at the beginning of the succeeding period.[3] In this period, Mycenaean vases appear at

[1] Haliké seems marked out by nature for smuggling or piracy.
[2] *J.H.S.* xxxiv. p. 152. [3] Evans, *loc. cit.*, p. 41.

Thebes, and as far north as Thessaly; and we may conclude that Mycenae and the Corinthia were becoming centres for the manufacture and distribution of pottery. What they received in exchange is not clear. The third Helladic period sees the Mycenaean civilisation established in Boeotia, and to this period the drainage works of Lake Kopais should probably be assigned. Boeotia would now become a producing centre on a large scale, and in return for grain and maize, which (then as now) were shipped to the Peloponnese, would receive in return the ceramic products of Mycenae, Zygouriés, and the Corinthia. Thus the conditions required for an active trade between the two sides of the gulf seem to be fulfilled only in the third Late Helladic period. How far does the evidence, necessarily imperfect, of our finds support this supposition?

At Thisbe (in addition to the ' Treasure ') numerous L.H. III. sherds have been found, and a few Minyan; as also the chamber-tombs, with L.H. III. pottery.

At Haliké, 2 grey Minyan, 6 L.H. II., 10 L.H. III., and remains of a L.H. III. wall on the acropolis.

At Livadóstro, 2 L.H. II., 9 L.H. III., and a road of L.H. III.[1] date.

At Chorsiai, 7 L.H. III.

It will be seen that L.H. III. remains are far the most common along this coast, that there are a few L.H. II. and some grey Minyan which may also be of the same date. Matt-painted wares and Early Helladic are not represented.

The conclusion from the present evidence is that trade relations between one side of the gulf and the other, of which the beginnings are discernible in the second L.H. period, became intensive only in the third. That they were more than a ' trifling coastal traffic '[2] we may confidently assert. Starting from Mycenae, the caravans would follow the road via Kleonai to Korákou,[3] where the goods would be shipped, along with

[1] On the analogy of the citadel-walls of Mycenae. [2] Leaf, *loc. cit.*

[3] Whether Korákou or the port of Sikyon on the southern side was the principal port of this traffic it is impossible to say, as we know too little of Mycenaean Sikyon. The voyage from Sikyon has the advantage of being more direct; that from Korákou is complicated by the necessity of rounding the Perachóra promontory, no easy task when the wind is blowing a gale straight up the gulf, as it often does. However, small harbours do exist on the south side of the promontory; one a little east of Vouliagméni, one at Vouliagméni itself, and one just below the modern lighthouse. All are safe, except in southerly winds, and here the sailor would remain until he could round the headland. In the present state of our knowledge we must regard Korákou as the ' early representative of Lechaion.'

products of the Corinthia. Once round the Perachóra promontory, the mariner would make the port of Thisbe, or, winds permitting, Livadóstro. Here he would unload his goods, shipping for his return journey a cargo of wheat or maize. Meanwhile the waiting caravans would load the merchandise he had brought from Mycenae, and bear it up the great road that climbs along the shoulder of Korombíli to the Boeotian plain, and so through Eutresis to Thebes; or turning aside at Parapoúngia would enter at Thespiae the pass that leads to the Kopais. At Thespiae they would fall in with caravans that had taken the alternative route via Thisbe, or with others returning to the coast from Orchomenos and Thebes.

W. A. Heurtley.

THE FINLAY LIBRARY.

THE study of mediaeval, Turkish and modern Greek history now attracts considerable attention in Athens. Important works upon these periods have been recently published by Greek scholars; lectures upon Byzantine history in particular are crowded not merely by students, but also by the general public, and several newspapers make a special feature of articles by specialists on social life in the reign of Otho. In these circumstances it is fortunate that the British School has possessed since 1899 the Finlay library, to which the adjacent library of M. Gennadios, opened in April, now provides a worthy counterpart.

The Finlay library, of which I speak from some two years' work among its shelves, consists, apart from general literature and travels, mainly of four divisions: (1) books used by Finlay for the Byzantine, Trapezuntine, Frankish and Turkish periods of his history; (2) books about the War of Independence and the reign of Otho; (3) a collection of Greek newspapers; and (4) Finlay's review articles, *Times'* correspondence, diaries and other documents. Of these the first section is nowadays the least important. Since Finlay's death much has been published about the Byzantine, Frankish and Turkish times, and the Empire of Trebizond, which renders some of his sources inadequate or obsolete. For example, the works of my friends, Don Antonio Rubió y Lluch of Barcelona and M. D. Gr. Kampouroglous of Athens (besides those of the late Th. N. Philadelpheus), have revolutionised the history of Athens under the Catalans and Turks respectively; Paranikas and Papadopoulos-Kerameus furnished new sources for that of Trebizond; the Spanish Chronicle of the Morea for Greece; several Byzantine historians have been published in critical editions among the Teubner texts. Not only are these lacking, but of the Bonn edition, poor as much of it is (especially those volumes which cover the Frankish period), there are in the library only twenty volumes; other Byzantine authors are represented by the obsolete edition of Venice: the 37th book of

Nikephoros Gregoras is in that of Parisot. No one now uses the *Histoire du Bas-Empire* of Lebeau, the second edition of which fills nearly a shelf; but, with the aid of Finlay's marginal notes, I have endeavoured to bring up to date the last five volumes (xvii–xxi), which deal with Frankish Greece.[1] And here it should be remarked, that not the least valuable part of Finlay's books consists of the *marginalia*. He annotated his books heavily in the margins, and his pencil notes were usually caustic, for Finlay made few allowances for the weakness of human nature. But, having read many of these works in his copies, I can testify to the value of his running commentaries, especially in the case of authors who had not his intimate personal acquaintance with Greece. Thus in his copies of Buchon and Hopf he has corrected their respective identifications of 'Thalassino' with 'Alassona,' and of the 'Castello de Ostodosia' with a castle at Gavrion instead of at the town of Andros.[2] Another interesting feature of these books are the autograph letters from their authors, which Finlay has pasted into them. Thus Buchon's *Chroniques Étrangères* contain a long letter from the author, dated four weeks before the September revolution of 1843, asking Finlay for political information to form the basis of articles in the French press, and announcing the speedy completion of *La Grèce continentale et la Morée*. Similarly, a volume, labelled 'Hopf: *Gesammelte Werke*,' contains two autograph letters from that eminent German scholar, one regretting that he had been unable to find in Germany a copy of Sauger's *Histoire des anciens ducs de l'Archipel*, and sending a copy of his own treatise, *De Historiae Ducatus Atheniensis fontibus*, another (dated 1863) from Syra, asking Finlay to use his influence with the Government to obtain for him the use of a steamer for the purpose of visiting Naxos and Santorin. As not unfrequently happened with Finlay, a peppery correspondence with the Greek authorities—copied into the end of this volume—arose out of this request. 'I am firm,' wrote the historian to the Minister of Marine, 'in my principle of never asking anything in Greece which could not be asked in like circumstances in England.' He added in French to Lt. de Rheineck, who had replied

[1] *Notes on Frankish Greek History*, published in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1926), xxvi. pp. 57–62.

[2] Buchon, *Recherches historiques. . . . Le Livre de la Conqueste*, p. 417. Hopf, K., *Geschichte der Insel Andros und ihrer Beherrscher*, p. 3. Cf. Paschales, D. P., Ἡ Ἄνδρος, i. 608 (Athens, 1925).

on the Minister's behalf: *Pendant un séjour de* 40 *ans en Grèce je n'ai jamais soliciter* (*sic*) *ni fait moi même un passage dans un batiment de l'état quoique j'ai eu l'honneur de me trouver à bord des batiments grecs dans plusieurs affaires avec l'enemi* (*sic*) *pendant la guerre de la revolution.* Finlay wrote German better than French.

The section comprising books about modern Greek history is far more remarkable. For not only does the library contain all the standard works, enriched and corrected from personal experience by Finlay's pencil-notes, but there are twenty-nine volumes of pamphlets, some extremely rare, bound under such titles as *Σύμμικτα*, *Greek Pamphlets*, *Greek Affairs*, and *Modern Greek History*. One of these contains Palma's *Summary Account of the Steam Boats for Lord Cochrane's Expedition*, with a letter of October 12, 1826 (pasted on the fly-leaf) from Finlay to *The New Times and Representative*, defending Hastings, and a treatise in Italian and Greek on the best means of maintaining the health of armies, by Bruno, *Medico e chirurgo di Lord Byron*, printed at Mesolonghi in 1824. This letter of Finlay is, I believe, his first appearance in print. Another is mainly devoted to the works of that versatile Scot, Edward Masson, who was successively theological student, secretary to Lord Dundonald in his capacity of Grand Admiral of Greece, an eloquent advocate in Greek,[1] 'Attorney-General for the Morea,' a judge of the Areiopagos, Professor of History in the University of Athens, and of New Testament and Ecclesiastical Greek at Belfast, and a copious publicist alike in English and Greek. His writings bound in this volume include three numbers of a literary and legal review, *Ὁ Παρατηρητής*, which he published at Nauplia in 1838, mainly consisting of translations from Bentham and James Mill; two copies of the *Σελήνη*, described as a 'didactic and recreative periodical,' published in Athens in 1849; three numbers of the *Ἑλληνικὴ Σημαία*, a 'political and literary newspaper,' published there after his return to his 'country by adoption,' in which he prints an English poem on his 'second arrival' and an open letter to John Bright on the 'Present State of Affairs in Greece,' urging the departure of Count Sponnek, 'George's most fatal foe.' The third number of the rechristened *Πανελληνικὴ Σημαία* contains an English review of Finlay's *History of the Greek Revolution*, Masson's appeal against the execution of the death sentence upon his client, George Mavro-

[1] Hervé, F., *A Residence in Greece and Turkey* (London, 1837), pp. 48, 271.

michales, the assassin of Capo d'Istria, and a 'Survey of Otho's reign,' addressed to Gladstone. There follow Masson's *Apology for the Greek Church*, three numbers of the Μνήμων and one of its English version, *The Hellenic Recorder*, in which, in 1872, the year before his death, he defended the Greek case in the question of the Laurion mines against Serpieri, whose pamphlet, *Une Spoliation*, forms part of the large volume labelled *Laurium* in the library. 'Quod juvenis defendi, non deseram senex,' wrote the eloquent Masson in this swan-song. Finlay in an article in *The Times* [1] was less enthusiastic. A third volume contains a collection of pamphlets on the plague of Poros in 1837, still commemorated by the monument on the opposite mainland to the Bavarian doctor, Rothlaur, who was one of its victims. In a fourth is a curious dialogue of 1827 on 'The Seven Plagues of Greece'—'the Hodjabashis,' the 'Wallachian Dukes' (the Roumanian Phanariotes), 'the flatterers,' 'the mania for titles,' 'the guineas,' 'the ambitions' and 'the still chained press.' A fifth is composed of German pamphlets on the revolution of 1843, including the valuable *Geschichte der Griechischen Revolution* by Baron von St . . . t, the grandfather of King Constantine's adviser, Dr. Streit. To this the volume, labelled *Greece*, 1843, 1847, forms a sequel, comprising Alexander Soutsos' poetical 'Panorama of the National Assembly' of 1844, with its interesting description of the battle between the 'inside' and the 'outside' Greeks. Another volume contains an anonymous denunciation of *British Diplomacy in Greece*, composed in 1848 by the late Sir P. Colquhoun (as Finlay's pencil note informs us), and strongly criticising the 'quarter-deck' diplomacy of Sir E. Lyons and British consular appointments in Greece; by which Green, an 'ex-crockery dealer [from Nauplia] shut up his shop to become British Consul at the Piraeus.' There follows *A Business-like View of the Greek Question* at the time of the Pacifico affair in 1850 by 'A Greek Merchant,' who handles Finlay's claim with marked asperity. It was characteristic of Finlay to preserve this attack upon himself. To the same date belongs Leake's pamphlet (Finlay's copy was presented by the author), *On the Claim to the Islands of Cervi and Sapienza*. The revolution of 1862 and the interregnum are represented in this collection by several French pamphlets, among them one by T. E. Baltazzi on *Le Prince Alfred et les intérêts français en Orient*, another by Lenormant on the 'causes

[1] February 25, 1873.

and consequences,' a third by Levidis, the well-known publicist, and a long treatise by Professor Saripolos on *Le Passé, le Présent et l'Avenir de la Grèce.* A hostile biography of the Premier Bulgaris tells us the origin of the nickname, 'Artaxerxes,' which Amalia gave him. A whole volume, entitled *Noel, etc.: Murders at Delissi,* 1870, is devoted to pamphlets on the famous arrest of Lord Muncaster and his companions by brigands. It contains M. Gennadios' pamphlet in English, *Notes on the recent murders by brigands in Greece,* the *Letters of Mr. Frank Noel . . . with an Introduction by his father,* giving an interesting account of the history of the estate at Achmetaga (Euboea),[1] still owned by Frank Noel's daughter, and heavily and favourably annotated by Finlay's pencil, and the Greek Blue-Book. One volume is filled with 'Reports on the Greek Loan,' two others with Greek statistics, including Klados' *Almanach* for 1837.

Besides this collection concerning the Greek kingdom as it then was, there are three volumes of pamphlets on the *Ionian Islands* and one on *Crete and Greece,* 1867–8. The Ionian series includes an anonymous treatise (by Bowen) with an anonymous reply (by Papanicolas), an anti-Greek treatise by Dunn Gardner, and Sir Patrick Colquhoun's open letter on the *Dismissal of the Ionian Judges.* The Cretan volume comprises an anonymous English pamphlet, *Facts on the Candian Question,* and a very long article from *Fraser's Magazine* for March, 1869, on the insurrection 'by a Resident in Crete' [W. J. Stillman, then U.S. Consul and afterwards *Times'* correspondent]. Finlay himself wrote, besides an article for *The Saturday Review* of October 5, 1867, two very long essays on *The History of the Insurrection in Crete,* and *The Cretan Insurrection and Hellenism,* the former for *The Times,* the latter for *Blackwood's Magazine* for July, 1869. Both were printed, and are preserved in the folio labelled *Affairs of Greece from* 1868 *to* 1870 (pp. 94–95, 102–104), but neither was ever published. The MS. of this

[1] Other authors describing Achmetaga are: Arnold, R. Arthur, *From the Levant* (London, 1868), i. 226 ff.; Baird, H. M., *Modern Greece* (New York, 1856), p. 263; Bayard Taylor, *Travels in Greece and Russia* (London, 1859), pp. 254–57; Belle, H., *Trois années en Grèce* (Paris, 1881), pp. 82–91; Buchon, A., *Voyage dans l'Eubée, les Iles Ioniennes et les Cyclades en* 1841 (Paris, 1911), pp. 46–60; Hill, Octavia, *Life, as told in her Letters* (London, 1913), pp. 427–28; Perdicaris, G. A., *The Greece of the Greeks* (New York, 1845), i. 113; Miller, W., *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), pp. 211–12; and in *Morning Post,* Oct. 11, 1904; Rangabês, A. R., Ἀπομνημονεύματα (Athens, 1895), ii. 59; Rodd, Rennell, *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (London, 1892), pp. 56–61; Wyse, Sir T., *Impressions of Greece* (London, 1871), pp. 36–38, 214–44; Finlay, G., MS. 'Journal 3' (1834).

article for *The Times*, which runs in print to 1006 lines, is contained in the volume entitled *Letters on Greek Affairs*, 1867, and was called by the author in a covering letter of October 3, 'as impartial an account of the Cretan insurrection as it is in my power to write.' On April 9, 1868, he wrote to ask whether it had been received; on August 28 Delane replied, enclosing the proof for correction, and on September 5 Finlay sent back the 'trifling changes' (*Letters on Greek Affairs*, 1868). This, the longest of all Finlay's newspaper articles, far too long, indeed, for any newspaper, deserves publication, although most of the information is second-hand, for he was only in Crete for a brief visit. Finlay was severe upon both parties, blaming the Ottoman Government for having 'neglected the reclamations of the Christians,' and the Greek for having 'engaged in an underhand attempt to dismember the Ottoman Empire.' He discounted the statements of both sides in the characteristic sentence: 'Both parties secured the services of men who spoke and wrote half a dozen languages with ease; but who could not speak or write the truth in any language.' He adds: 'For six months the Ottoman Pashas reported . . . by every post that they had suppressed the insurrection; and the Cretan chiefs announced . . . by the Austrian steamer weekly that they had annihilated an Ottoman army and slain or captured a Pasha.' Even the cold historian admits that 'the affair of the monastery of Arkadi was glorious . . . as affording an example of self-sacrifice, courage, and patriotism,' but he waxes sarcastic over the adventures of the blockade-runner named after the monastery. Yet he closes with a tribute to the services rendered by the British and the Greek peoples to the Cretan refugees in Greece, 'now said to exceed 40,000.' The article for *Blackwood* gives an historical summary of Cretan history, largely based on Pashley and Spratt, but is mainly a repetition, often even verbal, of the above treatise. It carries the history of the insurrection, however, down to its close, describing how Petropoulakes drove past the Turkish Legation in Athens, followed by volunteers 'carrying a banner with the Spartan motto ΤΑΝ Η ΕΠΙ ΤΑΝ.' Finlay ends *more suo* with the bitter-sweet remark: 'Our subject has compelled us to dwell on the errors of the Hellenic Government and people; we regret that it has prevented us from noticing equally those virtues which the Greek nation undoubtedly possesses.' He usually took the latter for granted, but emphasised the former.

Finlay annotated heavily the standard books on modern Greek history. In view of the new edition of Sp. Trikoupes' Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως, it may be of interest to publish his caustic judgment of that historian, written on the fly-leaf of his copy of Vol. I.: 'Mr. Tricoupi appears systematically to conceal the cruelties perpetrated by his countrymen. . . . As a diplomatic agent of the Greek Government he represents the ideas and manners of the Greeks as more nearly allied to the civilization of Western Europe than to the thoughts and practices of Oriental nations. I believe he is wrong. The Greeks think and act like Asiatics, and hence our difficulty in comprehending them, for they talk like Europeans . . . Tricoupi . . . imitates the external forms of Thucydides more than the spirit of that great historian. He cannot plead ignorance of the cruelties perpetrated at his native town, Mesolonghi, yet he conceals them. He records the noble conduct of the inhabitants in defending the town with pride. He ought to have felt that it was his duty to record their crimes, and to have done so, though with regret.' 'Thucydides,' he adds in a note to p. 7, 'was an exile'—forgetting that exiles are usually embittered. The fly-sheet of Vol. I. of his copy of von Prokesch-Osten's *Geschichte des Abfalls der Griechen* bears a letter from the author, dated 1864, which sums up modern Greek history: *C'était la destinée fatale de la Grèce de n'avoir été comprise par aucun de ses gouvernemens. Capo d'Istria s'y méprenait—les Bavarois n'y entendaient mot—les Puissances protectrices, sans exception, avec une ignorance grossière, lui ont fait cadeau du chiton de Déjaneire—le Roi Othon, malgré ses intentions incontestablement bienveillantes & honnêtes, n'était pas de la force à faire triompher le bon sens sur l'anarchie—& le Gouvt. d'aujourdhui me paraît une dérision. . . . Vous avez la satisfaction de vous dire que vous avez constamment aimé la Grèce—que vous avez toujours été sur la brêche pour défendre ses vrais intérêts & que vous avez profité de vos loisirs pour éclairer du flambeau historique les espaces presqu' inconnues de l'époque byzantine. On ne peut plus parler de ces temps sans recourir à vous.* Finlay's copy of Millingen's *Memoirs* has several *marginalia* about Byron, and contains a letter from the author, then at Mesolonghi, dated October 16, 1824, about Byron's illness and its treatment. His copy of von Maurer's *Das Griechische Volk* is punctuated with sarcasms. He describes the ex-Regent's 'continual quotation of the Σωτήρ' as 'a *base* fraud: Maurer paid its editor,' accuses him of 'wilful falsity,' and sums up his Regency

as 'μελλούσας δόξας καὶ μέλλοντα ὄνειρα.' Of Thiersch's [1] glowing forecast of agriculture, he wrote: 'We have now had the experience of three years to prove all this is *Schwärmerey*; in nations you may improve, but if you try to change you only destroy. Our rulers have only written down their incapacity by attempting to change & failing—1836.' The library, like modern Greek historical literature, is poor in Memoirs; but in those of Dragoumes there is pasted a long letter from the author on payment of members and the Senate. There is a good collection of British Blue Books. In that containing Finlay's claim to compensation for land included in the Palace garden is pasted a statement, from the *Glasgow Herald* of April 19, 1850, 'drawn out by himself, and transmitted to us for publication'; that on *The Relations between Greece and Turkey* in 1854 contains a private letter from Church remarking that Otho 'ought to have thought well of it before he ventured on a war with all the Powers of Europe'; that partly devoted to *Cretan Papers*: 1867, is supplemented by the first number of a Boston journal, *The Cretan*, of April, 1868, printing a long statement by Samuel G. Howe, who forty years earlier had published *An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution*, in the margin of which (pp. 178—79) Finlay has written some personal reminiscences: 'Lord Byron told me that, on his finding that a young boy (Louka) in the boat [crossing to Mesolonghi] could not swim, he told him to keep on his back & he would save him, when his surgeon called out, "Oh! my Lord, save me too."' There are also three Greek volumes of *Finance and Statistics* (1858—72).

There are some notable omissions, such as Stademann's *Panorama von Athen*, from this section of the library. In compensation there are numerous Byroniana (supplemented by Mr. S. C. Atchley), including a copy of *Sardanapalus*, on the fly-leaf of which Finlay has corrected the statement that it was 'given me at Missolunghi, March 1824, by the author,' thus: 'Strictly speaking this volume was not given. It was among Lord Byron's books at Missolonghi, and on his disclaiming the ownership, it was taken away with his consent and appropriated without his objecting.' In a presentation copy of the English translation of Elze's *Lord Byron*, Finlay has written: 'There are in my opinion many errors in this volume and now and then a tinge of nonsense with regard

[1] *De l'État actuel de la Grèce*, ii. 57.

to Byron's thoughts and fancies, though there is a great deal of truth also. Athens, July, 1872.' The translator, the Rev. A. Napier, had written to his sister-in-law, who knew Finlay, a letter (buried amid the pages of Kennedy's *Conversations on Religion*), stating that 'had I the honour of being sufficiently acquainted with Mr. Finlay I would even go so far as to ask him whether he would condescend to add a chapter to this new biography descriptive of Lord Byron as the Liberator,' and offering to send the proof-sheets to him for correction.

To the books upon modern Greek history accumulated by Finlay, Messrs. Wace, Woodward, Welch and Heurtley have added others dealing with events since his death. Thus, there are the Cretan Blue Books from 1889 to 1900, and a bound copy of the draft of the Cretan Constitution of 1899, with notes and corrections by Finlay's successor, the late J. D. Bourchier, who rendered such great services to the Cretan cause and whose memoirs deserve publication. There are Constantine's official report on the campaign of 1897 and the results of the censuses of 1907 and 1920. There is Dr. Zervos' monumental volume on *National Legacies and Gifts*. The familiar works on the Macedonian question—now rendered obsolete by the ethnographic change effected by the immigration of the refugees from Asia Minor—are followed by two shelves full of war and post-war pamphlets, including Mlle. Stephanopoli's standard treatise on the Dodekanesian question, others on Northern Epeiros, and Males' Ἡ Σάμος ὑπὸ τὸ Αὐτόνομον Πολίτευμα down to the union. Nor are wanting such brilliant novels as Mr. Brailsford's *Broom of the War-God*, illustrative of the war of 1897, and Frappa's *À Salónique sous l'œil des dieux!* descriptive of life there during the recent campaign, to keep company with Hope's *Anastasius*, Morier's *Photo the Suliote*, Xenos' *The Devil in Turkey*, and that true narrative, *The Brigands of the Morea, A Narrative of the Captivity of Mr. S. Soterópoulos* in Bagdon's translation, with Finlay's caustic pencillings. A further new section consists of new works on Finlay's period. The most notable of these are the incomplete Ἀρχεῖον τῆς κοινότητος Ὕδρας, 1778–1832, and Ἀρχεῖα Λαζάρου καὶ Γεωργίου Κουντουριώτου [the father of the recent President], 1821–32, of which the library has only four volumes, the first volume of the archives of Andreas Lontos (1789–1847), and the two of Rangabês' Ἀπομνημονεύματα. Rangabês consulted Finlay about the Scottish family of Skene, with which his sister

was intermarrying and his 'Memoirs' contain references to such well-known former English residents in Athens as Bell, Bracebridge of Atherstone (who figures often in Finlay's 'Journal 3'), and Parish, the diplomatic historian of the Greek monarchy. His son proposes to publish a further instalment. The three recent big works on modern Greek history,[1] and Romas' archives are lacking; but among the added biographies we may note those of Lord Lyons and Jules Ferry, the latter specially valuable for the description of Athens in 1872–73 when Ferry was Minister there. A biography of George Gennadios forms one of fourteen volumes presented by his son, and including treatises by the latter. An album of recent political proclamations and poetry, which will one day have historical importance, has been impartially formed by Mr. Welch. It contains the Venizelist and Constantinist hymns, the Royalist announcement of the political funeral of Venizelos after the elections of 1920, voting papers, marked Κωνσταντῖνος B., 'officially handed to voters in the plebiscite of 1920,' and 'the Venizelist Creed.' There follow the documents of the revolution of 1922—'the proclamation dropped on Athens by an aeroplane from the revolutionary army of Cols. Plastiras and Gonatas in Mitylene' on September 26, demanding Constantine's abdication, and the official Gazette of October 5, containing Constantine's letter of abdication of September 27 to the Premier, M. Triantaphyllakos, and his farewell message to the Greek people on the same day, with a note by the new Premier, Krokidâs, that 'the present message was written by the King's own hand in pencil.' Next come the proclamations during the counter-revolution of October, 1923—that of Generals Leonardopoulos and Gargalides and Col. Zeras, 'a rebel pamphlet from the Peloponnesos,' the prohibition of all traffic in Athens and the Piraeus without special permit, and the surrender of the rebels at Kaza. Photographs of the bomb outrage at the British Legation on March 12, 1924, form a footnote to the history of that residence. This volume should be continued in accordance with the traditions of the library, which should be kept up to date as a complete storehouse of mediaeval and modern Greece—materials for future Finlays.

The library has no copies of the eight earliest Greek newspapers, of which the chief was the Λόγιος Ἑρμῆς, and naturally so, because they all were published between 1793 and 1821 outside Greece, six at Vienna

[1] See Miller, W., *Modern Historians of Modern Greece.* In *History* (1925), x. 110–123.

and two at Corfù,[1] nor of the earliest journal published in Greece. But the next three are all represented. A single stout volume contains original copies of the Ἑλληνικὰ Χρονικά and the *Telegrafo Greco* of Mesolonghi, started respectively—I give all dates in new style—on January 13 and March 20, 1824. The first number of the former contains a long 'extract from the letter of Lord Byron to the Greek Administration,' dated 'from Cephalonia, November 30, 1823,' introducing Col. Leicester Stanhope, frankly stating that there would be no hope of a loan if unity were not maintained, and that the Great Powers 'would be told that the Greeks are incompetent to govern themselves.' No. 4 has an account of Byron's voyage from Cephalonia to Mesolonghi; Nos. 5 to 7 are occupied with Lord Erskine's letter to Mavrocordatos. Of special interest is the manuscript article in praise of the Hungarians, pasted in at the end of Nos. 20 and 21, with a footnote in Finlay's handwriting: 'In consequence of the insertion of this article, No. 20 was seized by the police and cancelled.' No. 27 denied the German rumour that Mesolonghi had illuminated at the news of the death of Sir Thomas Maitland, the first Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands. No. 29, published on April 21 with a mourning border, announces that of Byron; No. 30 of April 24 describes his funeral; No. 31 gives Trikoupes' funeral oration over him; No. 38 contains the decree fixing May 23 as a day of mourning throughout Greece for him. Full particulars of the numbers of this periodical contained in the bound file of it will be found in Appendix (II) below. Of the *Telegrafo Greco* there are Nos. 1 to 21 and 29 to 32. No. 5 contains an account of Byron's death and funeral, No. 8 of the *post-mortem* examination and of the transport of his remains to Zante. This volume likewise comprises most of the first 142 numbers (as shewn in Appendix (II) of the Φίλος τοῦ Νόμου of Hydra, started on March 22, 1824, edited by the Italian Ciappe, and censured by Lazaros Kountouriotes, grand-uncle of the recent President of the Greek Republic.[1] These are followed by two numbers of a weekly French paper, also published at Hydra in 1827, *L'Abeille Grecque*. Three other volumes, however, contain a complete set of all the published 296 numbers of the Φίλος τοῦ Νόμου down to June 8,

[1] Χ [= Mr. Kalogeropoulos, librarian of the Parliament] in Ἑστία (1886), xxi. 43–45, 74–76, 102–105, 134–36, 167–69, 182–85, 218–21. The Ἑλληνικὰ Χρονικά were reprinted and dedicated to the Duchesse de Plaisance, by K. N. Levides in 1840.

[2] Emerson, *A Picture of Greece in* 1825, i. 340–41.

1827, of which that describing the sortie from Mesolonghi possesses topical interest in this the year of its centenary. Another volume holds the first Athenian newspaper, Ἐφημερὶς Ἀθηνῶν, of which Great Britain may claim to be the founder, as the printing-press was presented by Col. Leicester Stanhope on behalf of the Greek Committee of London. This venerable mother of an immense progeny—for the names of the Athenian journals fill many pages of the catalogue in the Parliament library—was born on September 1, 1824, at Salamis, and the first number contains Stanhope's letter, and the second, published in Athens, the Athenians' reply,[1] and the news of the arrival of Admiral Clifford on the *Euryalos* in the Piraeus, where another British ship was already undergoing repairs. Nos. 4 and 37 mention the organisation of a school in Athens, the summons from Nauplia of the famous 'teacher of the Nation,' George Gennadios, father of the ex-Minister in London; Nos. 4 and 88–89 the re-establishment of the 'Philomuse Society,' which had stopped in 1821. No. 5 describes the burial of a British naval officer in the Monastery of St. Spyridon at the Piraeus. No. 15 announces the arrival, as *locum tenens* of the see of Athens, of Neophytos, bishop of Atalante, whose name figures in the tourists' accounts of the early 'thirties. No. 21 gives the population of Athens in November, 1824, as 9,040. No. 42 mentions the presence in Athens in February, 1825, of the Italian Philhellene, Santarosa, the centenary of whose death was celebrated last year. Nos. 47–48 contain the decree converting the mosques of the bazaar and of the column into a Lancastrian school and public library. No. 64 of June 7, 1825, was printed at Salamis, where the Athenians had again taken refuge on receipt of bad news from Salona. After 103 numbers, on November 23 the paper started a new series, with No. 37 of which this volume and the newspaper ended on April 27, 1826. Only one number of each series (11 and 8 respectively) is missing, and the latter has been supplied in MS.

The library also contains five volumes of the fifth of these early Greek newspapers, the official gazette, Γενικὴ Ἐφημερὶς τῆς Ἑλλάδος, first published at Nauplia on October 19, 1825, under the editorship of Pharmakides, then (as the seat of Government was successively moved) at Aigina on December 6, 1826, at Poros on April 11, 1827, at Nauplia again (under the editorship of Chryseides) on July 4, again at Aigina on

[1] Sourmelês, Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, pp. 72–75.

September 5, at Argos on July 15, 1829, at Aigina again on August 26, and finally from October 30, 1830, at Nauplia. Among its historical curiosities are a letter from the besieged Akropolis by Sourmelês, the future historian of Athens, the official announcements of the election of Capo d'Istria and of the fall of the Akropolis, a description of the battle of Navarino from a person who was present on the *Cambrian*, the arrival of Capo d'Istria on the *Warspite* (commanded by the same Captain Parker who was to blockade the Piraeus during the Pacifico Affair in 1850), and the presentation of his letters to the President by Edward James Dawkins, the first British 'Resident,' on November 22, 1828.[1] A sequel to this gazette is its successor, the still extant Ἐφημερὶς τῆς Κυβερνήσεως, of which there are ten volumes in the library, from its first number, dated Nauplia, February 28, 1833, containing Otho's proclamation on landing there, down to the end of 1844 and all 1866. Finlay has inserted in these volumes some interesting historical documents, such as the supplement to the *Moniteur Grec* (published at Nauplia, December 6, 1832), containing a letter of the three members of the Greek delegation addressed to Captain Lyons of the *Madagascar*, describing their reception in Munich; the speech of Bishop Neophytos near the Theseion on February 14, 1833, urging concord on Otho's arrival in Greece[2]; a notice, addressed to 'Major Finlay,' of the death of Princess Cantacuzene, Armansperg's eldest daughter, together with an elegy by Panagiotes Soutsos on her grave—marked in Stademann's plan of Athens—on the islet of Psyttaleia, where also rest some of our sailors of the blockade of 1850[3]; the programme of the removal of Karaïskakes' remains from Salamis to the site of his monument at New Phaleron; and the order of the day of July 13, 1835, signed by General Smaltz, directing General Gordon to restore order in Northern Greece, as described by Finlay (who accompanied him) in his *History*[4] and papers.

Other early Greek journals in the shelves are forty numbers of the weekly Ἀνεξάρτητος Ἐφημερίς of 1827–28, published successively at Hydra and Aigina; two volumes of *Le Courrier de Smyrne* (1828–31); a volume containing stray numbers of two other Smyrniote papers of

[1] Γενικὴ Ἐφημερίς, Oct. 28, 1826; April 21, June 16, Oct. 31, 1827; Jan. 26, Nov. 29, 1828.

[2] Reprinted in Wordsworth, c., *Athens and Attica* (ed. 3), p. 213 n^2.

[3] *Panorama von Athen*. Plan, No. 96. Consular Registers (Piraeus), vol. i.

[4] vii. 158–61; *English Historical Review*, xxxix. 390–91.

1827, *Le Spectateur Oriental* and *L'Observateur Impartial*; and a volume with fifty-six numbers—43 to 45 are missing—of the famous bi-weekly Hydriote *Apollon* of 1831, which expressed the opposition to Capo d'Istria. No. 59 contains the well-known poem of Alexander Soutsos on 'The Heroes Constantine and George Mavromichales, each premeditating the tyrannicide of I. Capo d'Istria,' and comments on his murder in the words, 'as citizens, we are very far from condemning the deed'—an opinion shared by Finlay in his 'Journal, 1829–32.' There are the first year (1834–35) of the Greco-French Σωτήρ (containing the programme of Otho's entry into Athens, the new capital), and twelve volumes of the Ἀθηνᾶ (to which Finlay contributed four pseudonymous letters), beginning with No. 97 in 1833 and ending, with large gaps, in 1863, in one of which is inserted the trilingual programme for the ceremony of Otho's majority and his proclamation on that occasion, while another contains some copies of the Ἐλπίς for 1837. Inside the volume for 1854–5 I found the draft of a letter from Finlay to Leake, dated October 20, 1844, in which he wrote that 'the great object of Lord Palmerston and Sir Edmund Lyons seems now to be to ruin Greece. . . . Greece between her rulers and protectors seems . . . between the devil and the deep sea. I see no escape, & therefore have given up modern Greek politics. . . . The king has no talent for either organization or legislation. Sir Edmund Lyons is even more ignorant of administrative business than the king. . . . England and France had two Chambers, so Sir Edmund Lyons & Mr. Piscatory [the French Minister] thought Greece required two.' He adds: 'I am surprised Grote has not undertaken so easy a journey,' as that to Greece.[1] With it is a most curious leaflet, ordering the commemoration 'on the hill towards Patisia' of the *ἀνάθεμα* on Zographos (for having concluded the unpopular commercial treaty with Turkey in 1840),[2] of which those on Sala at Nauplia in 1715 and on the supporters of Hadji Ali 'the Hasekês' in 1785 were precedents, and that on M. Venizelos in 1916 a sequel. There is also an 'Extract from Lord Aberdeen's private letter to Sir E. Lyons, dated December 6, 1843' (not printed in the Parliamentary Paper on the events of that year), in which the writer instructs his Minister 'to take the Bavarian Minister into your full confidence,' while 'with regard to the details of the Con-

[1] *English Historical Review*, xxxix. 394.
[2] É. Driault et M. Lhéritier, *Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce*, ii. 199.

stitution you had better allow Piscatory to take the active part. In those matters in which you differ . . . do not press them to extremity.' A covering letter of Lyons to Finlay, asking his advice, accompanies it. Other letters from Lyons contain the sarcasm: 'for anything in favour of the Greek Gov^t. I must refer you to Strong's *Greece as a Kingdom*'; an allusion to the intrigue of the monks of Megaspelaion against the Mavrocordatos Cabinet in 1841[1]; and the quaint remark that if Kolettes 'is come to play a part here, he must . . . *cut off his tail*, which is become so offensive.' Of later Greek newspapers there are five volumes of the Αἰών (1869–73), five of *La Grèce* (1862–70), three of the Ἐθνοφύλαξ (1865–67), two of the Αὐγή (1859–62) and eleven of the Παλιγγενεσία (founded immediately after the revolution of 1862) down to 1873, besides some smaller journals. Specially valuable to historians are the six volumes of the 'Hansard' of the Assembly of 1862–64, followed by four of that of the ordinary Parliament for 1865–66 and 1871.

Of Finlay's manuscript remains, articles and *Times*' correspondence I have written in *The English Historical Review*,[2] while Mr. Wace has extracted from the Finlay papers the materials for his two articles published in the *Annual*,[3] upon Finlay's father and *Hastings and Finlay*. He also drew on the two volumes of the MS. 'Journal' (1821–24) of the American Philhellene, Lieut.-General George Jarvis, in English, German, Greek and French, preserved in the library. Jarvis[4] was born and educated in Germany, left Altona for Greece, where he arrived with Hastings in 1822, was at Mesolonghi in 1824 and 1826, captured at Navarino and mixed up in the attempt to murder Trelawny in the Parnassian cave in 1825, and distributed relief in 1827. Finlay preserved a trilingual notice 'posting' him for having declined a duel with Castle in 1827. He is last mentioned at Argos in 1828, where he died. The late Prof. Lampros once said to me that Finlay's correspondence in *The Times* should be republished as a continuation of his history, from 1864 to 1874. Having perused his 142 published and 24 unpub-

[1] Karolides, P., Σύγχρονος Ἱστορία τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ii. 312.

[2] xxxix. 386–98; 552–67.

[3] *B.S.A.*, xxii. 110–32; xxiii. 126–38.

[4] J. P. Miller, *The Condition of Greece in* 1827 *and* 1828, often mentions him and gives his biography, p. 231 *n.*; J. Millingen, *Memoirs of the Affairs of Greece*, p. 192; S. G. Howe, *An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution*, p. 252 *n.*; *Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe*, *passim*, esp. p. 29; *B.S.A.* xxii. 111, *L'Abeille Grecque*, October 10, 1827; Rev. J. Hartley, *Researches in Greece and the Levant*, pp. 365, 372.

lished articles, I cannot share this opinion. They are rather essays than a continuous narrative of facts; they occasionally overlap; there is tendency to repeat the writer's favourite criticisms of Greece; and throughout the attitude is that rather of a professor lecturing his pupils than of a historian calmly relating events. Finlay never realised that a foreign resident in a country cannot allow himself the same latitude of criticism as a native. To the last he judged Greece by a standard, laid up perhaps in heaven, but not found on earth, and he failed to grasp the Italian maxim: *tutto il mondo è paese.*

Among the personal treasures of the library are the interleaved corrections and reviews of his *History*, several interesting photographs, and the rare 2d. Mulready envelope, addressed to him by Sir E. Lyons. Into Marsden's *Brief Memoir of . . . Leake*, 'the first and steadiest champion of Grecian liberty' (as a letter from Finlay described 'the great scholar and geographer'), there are pasted 73 letters from Leake to Finlay 'relating to Greece & the affairs of Greece from 1830 to Dec^r. 1859'—two others of 1852 are among the Finlay MSS. ('Correspondence I'), which contain many from Finlay to Leake, mentioned by me elsewhere.[1] The letters are both archaeological and political; the first (August 6, 1830) thanks Finlay 'for the route through Tzakonia to Monemvasia' (afterwards incorporated in the *Peloponnesiaca*[2]), and trusts 'that the revolution in France will ultimately be beneficial to Greece, and give liberty to a larger portion of the country.' The second (1831) mentions Copeland's survey of the Euboean coast, and, alluding to a letter from Finlay in a London newspaper, remarks that 'relief from the Turkish yoke cannot but be followed by some improvement, though our late Government took care that it should be the minimum.' The third (1833) says: 'The name of your estate Liosa is a corruption of Eleusa. . . . I think you may fairly subscribe yourself ΕΛΑΙΟΥΣΙΟΣ,'[3] and ninety-one years before the present Republic, prophesies that the Greeks' 'tendency to republican forms of government is indigenous. . . . Ten years ago Greece might have been a republic under the protection of England.' On January 1, 1834, he mentions his publication in *The Times*[4] of part of a letter from Finlay about the excavation of Athens,

[1] Finlay Library, Q. 9, 16 and 31, *Eng. Hist. Review*, xxxix, 397.
[2] Pp. 299–300.
[3] *The Topography of Athens and the Demi* (ed. 2), ii. 123.
[4] December 3, 1833. There is much about this in Finlay's 'Journal 3.

which Leake denounced as 'a mad scheme,' though 'if Corinth had been made the capital, they might have indulged their fancies at Athens.' Interesting is the remark in a letter of 1835, that 'The best thing that could happen to the Sultan would be the extension of the boundaries of Greece and Servia till they meet'—now accomplished. Another (of 1836) asks Finlay to send him 'Your corrections of my map of Attica,' for 'a new edition of the Top^{y}. of Athens'; one of 1837 thanks him 'for the journal of your late tour.' Letters of 1839 and 1840 lament the then—and later—prevalent British opinion 'that Greece concerns us not'; another of 1840 enunciates the maxims that 'A *fool* cannot long act the *despot* among the Greeks,' and that 'Among Turks, military forces, not treaties, determine boundaries.' Several letters of 1841 testify to Leake's efforts on behalf of the insurgent Cretans; two of 1842 shew the difficulties of publishing Finlay's great work, and Murray's refusal because 'Gibbon has covered the ground.' The Greek revolutionary year 1843 produced the remarks: 'I never expected much from a Bavarian sovereign under a triple protection,' and, 'It is something to be relieved of German pedantry.' 'Greece,' Leake wrote in 1844, 'excites more interest here at present than she has for many years, and all but a few ultras seem pleased with her late revolution.' But 'it has been a great misfortune . . . that so few Greeks have been educated here.' Several letters contain severe criticism of Grote—his need of compression and his lack—shared by Thirwall but less excusable—of personal knowledge of Greece: to Leake, as to Finlay, he was a *Stubengelehrter*. The letters of 1850 denounce Palmerston's policy in the Don Pacifico affair, 'hope' that 'the Greeks do not view us in the hateful light we deserve,' and agree with Finlay 'that we ought to give up all the Ionian Islands except Corfù.' Those of the Crimean War period declare the Greek frontier to be the cause of the insurrections beyond it in 1854, and that 'there must at last be an independent Greek State extending as far north as the language is spoken.' The penultimate letter deals with the Ionian Islands. A letter from S. Trikoupes—then Minister in London—aptly closes the series with the words, 'Our lamented friend died as he lived, an ardent Philhellene.'

The same cupboard contains the invitation to Finlay's funeral, which gives the correct year of his death at Athens—1875—not 1876, as stated in the Oxford edition of his *History*. On December 13, 1823,

exactly eleven years before it became the capital, he had arrived there for the first time.[1] His house in Hadrian Street, the Mayfair of early Othonian Athens, still stands; his bust, 'turning its back on most of his compatriots,' is prominent in the cemetery; his library preserves his memory in the place where, amidst many disappointments, his great work was done.

WILLIAM MILLER.

APPENDIX I.

Allusions to Finlay in Books

Anonymous [= Alexander S. Finlay]: *Letters on a Journey to Bombay* (1837), pp. 11, 13, 15.

Baird, H. M.: *Modern Greece* (New York, 1856), p. 28.

Bosanquet, R. C.: *The Finlay Collection and its Sources.* In *J.H.S. Suppl. Paper*, No. 4, *Excavations at Phylakopi* (London, 1904), pp. 224–27.

Buchon, A.: *Voyage dans l'Eubée, les Iles Ioniennes et les Cyclades en* 1841 (Paris, 1911), p. 76.

Carlisle, Earl of: *Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters* (London, 1854), pp. 194, 201.

Clark, W. G.: *Peloponnesus* (London, 1858), Dedication.

Cochrane, G.: *Wanderings in Greece* (London, 1837), ii. 25.

Correspondence respecting the Demands made upon the Greek Government: Mr. Finlay's Claim (London, 1850), pp. 1–50.

De Quincey, T.: *Works* (Edinburgh, 1862), vii. 317–52. [Review of *Greece under the Romans.*]

De Vere, Aubrey: *Picturesque Sketches of Greece and Turkey* (London, 1850), i, 166 ff.

Dumont, M. A.: *Collection préhistorique de M. Finlay à Athènes* (Toulouse, 1872).

Freeman, E. A.: *The History and Conquests of the Saracens* (Oxford, 1856). Dedication.

—— —— *Historical Essays* (Ed. 2. London, 1892), pp. 235–82. [Review of *The Byzantine Empire.*]

Gamba, Count P.: *A Narrative of Lord Byron's Last Journey to Greece* (Paris, 1825), pp. 192, 218–19.

Gordon, T.: *History of the Greek Revolution* (London, 1832), ii. 122.

Grote, G.: *A History of Greece* (London, 1884), iv. 273–76.

Hartley, Rev. J.: *Researches in Greece and the Levant* (London, 1831), p. 365.

[1] 'Journal 3,' Dec. 13, 1834.

Hastings, F. A.: *Memoir on the Use of Shells* (London, 1828), pp. vi.–viii. [The unsigned letter to Hastings was by Finlay.]
Hervé, F.: *A Residence in Greece and Turkey* (London, 1837), i. 228–39, 296.
Howe, Samuel Gridley, *Letters and Journals of* (London, 1907), pp. xiv, xvi, xvii, 216, 226 [his home at Aigina], 227, 255, 261, 287 [character], 289, 298, 333, 338, 341–3, 344, 349 [character].
Kampouroglous, D. Gr.: Αἱ Γυναῖκες τοῦ Μεγάλου Κόσμου (Athens, 1924), pp. 59–60, 63.
—— —— In Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος (Athens, 1925), p. 70.
Klenze, L. von: *Aphoristische Bemerkungen gesammelt auf seiner Reise nach Griechenland* (Berlin, 1838), p. 737.
Leake, W. M.: *Peloponnesiaca* (London, 1846), pp. 258–61, 299–300, 304.
—— —— *The Topography of Athens and the Demi* (ed. 2, London, 1841), i. 216 *n.*[3]; ii. 7 *n.*, 29 *n.*[1], 50 *n.*, 73 *nn.*, 75 *nn.*, 103 *n.*[1], 115 *n.*[2], 121 *n.*, 124 *n.*
—— —— *Greece at the End of Twenty-three Years' Protection* (London, 1851), p. 16 *n.* The letter quoted was Finlay's.
—— —— *On Some Disputed Questions of Ancient Geography* (London, 1857), pp. 53–55.
Miller, J. P.: *The Condition of Greece in* 1827 *and* 1828 (New York, 1828), p. 45, 89, 100.
Miller, W.: *The Finlay Papers. George Finlay as a Journalist.* In *The English Historical Review* (1924), xxxix. 386–98, 552–67.
Millingen, J.: *Memoirs of the Affairs of Greece* (London, 1831), pp. 95, 146, 168.
Mure, W.: *Journal of a Tour in Greece* (London, 1842), ii. 50, 108.
Neezer, Ch.: Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν πρώτων ἐτῶν τῆς ἱδρύσεως τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Βασιλείου (Constantinople, 1911), p. 41.
Osman Bey: *Les Anglais en Orient* (Paris, 1877), pp. 29–36, 368.
Parry, W.: *The Last Days of Lord Byron* (London, 1825), p. 250, 259.
Perdicaris, G. A. [U.S.A. Consul]: *The Greece of the Greeks* (New York, 1845), i. 99.
Rangabês, A. R.: Ἀπομνημονεύματα (Athens, 1894), i. 380.
Ross, L.: *Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland* (Berlin, 1863), pp. 35, 41, 43.
—— —— *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln* (Halle a/s, 1912), i. 109 ff.
Rumbold, Sir H.: *Recollections of a Diplomatist,* 1849–1873 (London, 1902), ii., pp. 146–48.
S. Doc. 67 [= U.S. Senate papers on Greece] (Washington, 1854), p. 25.
Senior, W. N.: *A Journal kept in Turkey and Greece* (London, 1859), pp. 263–66, 299–302, 311–19, 340–50, 359–62. [Finlay's copy of the French translation, *La Turquie Contemporaine* (Paris, 1861), which mentions him by name (pp. 252–55, 286–89), contains pencil notes identifying 'G.F.' with 'N.O.' (pp. 298–305), 'S.T.R.' (pp. 323–32), and 'D.E.F.' (pp. 342–46)].

Slade, Capt.: *Records of Travel in Turkey, Greece, etc.* (London, new ed., 1854), pp. 189–190. [This version of his marriage provoked on June 12, 1834, a furious letter from Finlay, of which there is a copy in 'Letter-Book, 1827–36.' It says: 'When you wrote it, you must have known that it was a mean libel, for which no apology could be offered unless it could help to sell anything written under the pressure of want.']

Stanhope, Col. Leicester: *Greece in* 1823 *and* 1824 (London, 1925), pp. 78, 139, 150, 156, 185, 221, 299, 326, 331, 442–43.

Tuckerman, C. K. [U.S. Minister in Athens 1868–71]: *The Greeks of To-day* (London, *n.d.*), p. 89. [Finlay has written in the margin of his copy: 'My character,' and 'no' to Tuckerman's description of him as 'my friend.']

Wace, A. J. B.: *Hastings and Finlay*. *B.S.A.* xxii. (1916–18), 122–32.

—— —— *A British Officer on Active Service*, 1799. *B.S.A.* xxiii. (1918–19), 126–38.

Welcker, F. G.: *Tagebuch einer griechischen Reise* (Berlin, 1865), i. 68, 72, 104, 120, 156.

Wilde, W. R.: *Narrative of a Voyage* (Dublin, 1840), ii. 440, 448–52.

Ἀστραπή (Athens), August 19, 1921, O.S. [His house.]

Εἰκονογραφημένη Εὔα (Athens), July 7, 1923.
Ἔμπρός (Athens), March 4, 1921, O.S. } [His marriage.]

APPENDIX II.

Early Greek Newspapers.

(1) Ἑλληνικὰ Χρονικά. The following numbers are contained in the bound volume, entitled 'Ἑλληνικὰ Χρονικά, Telegrafo Greco, Φίλος τοῦ Νόμου' (Shelf-Marks K 7, 18):

1st series, commencing Jan. 1st/13th, 1824—Nos. 1–41, 44–46, 48–50, 54, 55, 58, 60, 61, 65–67, 69, 80–86, 88, 89, 91, 92, 94 (the last dated Nov. 19th/Dec. 1st, 1824).

2nd series, commencing Jan. 1st/13th, 1825—Nos. 26–42, 44, 45, 48, 49, 79, 80, 82–87, 89–94 (the last dated Nov. 21st/Dec. 3rd, 1825).

The principal gaps comprise all the issues between Nov. 19th/Dec. 1st, 1824, and April 1st/13th, 1825; between June 20th/July 2nd, 1825 and Oct. 3rd/15th, 1825, and between Nov. 21st/Dec. 3rd, 1825 and Feb. 20th/March 4th, 1826, when it ended.

(2) *Telegrafo Greco* (bound in same volume):

Nos. 1–21, 29–32 (the last dated Oct. 11th/23rd, 1824).

(3) (*a*) Φίλος τοῦ Νόμου (bound in same volume):

Nos. 1–34, 36–55, 63–65, 96, 104–14, 117–40, 142, and duplicates of Nos. 123–25 (bound in at end of run).

(*b*) Φίλος τοῦ Νόμου (bound in three volumes, Shelf-Marks K 7, 24–26) :
Nos. 1–296, forming the complete set (March 10th/22nd, 1824, to May 27th/June 8th, 1827).

(4) Ἐφημερὶς Ἀθηνῶν (Shelf-Marks K 7, 5) :
1st series (commencing Aug. 20th/Sept. 1st, 1824), complete from No. 1 to 103, excepting No. 11.
2nd series (commencing Nov. 11th/23rd, 1825), complete from No. 1 to 37 (of April 15th/27th, 1826, which ends the paper), excepting No. 8, which has been supplied in MS.

(5) Γενικὴ Ἐφημερίς (Shelf-Marks K 7, 19–23) :
Six years' run, in five vols. ending Dec. 31st (O.S.), 1830.

(6) *L'Abeille Grecque* (published at Hydra), bound up with Nos. 1, 2, 3*a*, Nos. 12 (June 16th/28th) and 25 (Sept. 22nd/Oct. 4th), 1827, only.

RHODES AND HELLENISTIC SCULPTURE.

(Plates VIII—X.)

The importance of Rhodes as an art centre in Hellenistic times has led to a theory that its sculpture was different in character from that of other places. My aim in this paper is to collect the more important objects of Rhodian provenance and to see if they support this view.

The fourth-century work from the island is in no way distinctive, as is shown by two female heads in Boston, which date from the middle [1] and the third quarter of the century.[2] The latter so closely resembles Attic grave-stelae that Caskey suspects it of belonging to one: this is quite likely, since we know that these stelae were exported (*e. g.*, the fragment in the Argos Museum [3] which bears the head of a boy with his name Kephisodotos written above in Athenian lettering), and the mention of five colossal statues by Bryaxis [4] and a Helios and quadriga by Lysippos [5] proves that foreign artists were already employed for Rhodes. The influence of Lysippos may be traced in a colossal head of Helios in the collection of Hiller von Gaertringen,[6] in another Alexandroid head [7] of no great merit, and in the colossal head from Ialysos in New York [8] (Pl. VIII, 1). This came from a high relief and is remarkably like the heads on the Alexander Sarcophagus (cf. Pl. IX); it may be significant that both are of Pentelic marble instead of the customary Parian. The Helios which belongs to Dr. J. L. Shear [9] is of slightly earlier type and seems to owe more to Praxiteles: it has no local characteristics; in fact it might well be of the same school as a red-glazed vase from Kertch which is modelled in the form of a young male head

[1] Caskey, *Cat.* No. 30. [2] *Ibid.* 32. [3] *J.H.S.* xi. 1890, p. 101.
[4] Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiv. 42. [5] *Ibid.* xxxiv. 63. [6] *Strena Helbigiana*, p. 99.
[7] Hartwig, *Röm. Mitt.* ii. 1887, p. 159, Pls. VII, VII*a*. Then in the Haug Coll., Rome.
[8] *Handbook of Metr. Museum*, Fig. 140; Chase, *Sculpt. in America*, Fig. 106; Miss Richter has kindly allowed the use of an unpublished photograph.
[9] Shear, *A.J.A.*[2] xx. 1916, p. 283, Pls. VII, VIII.

wearing an ivy-wreath.[1] The Warocqué head from Rhodes is insufficiently published; Cumont [2] ascribes it to the time of Alexander.

In the basement of the British Museum is a head [3] which was acquired from Biliotti and therefore probably came from Rhodes, a vigorous youth-type with a 'sfumato' surface (Pl. VIII, 2). Its place is with other semi-portraits [4] executed in the violent and idealistic manner of Alexander's successors, and it is accordingly of the same period as Chares' famous Colossus, completed in 291 or 281 B.C.[5]

The prosperity of Rhodes increased after the abortive siege of 303, but there are no large monuments extant of the next hundred years, except a rock-carving at Lindos of the fore-part of a ship. It has a long inscription of the middle of the third century recording some naval victory,[6] and one of the trierarchs mentioned is Agathostratos, who later was in supreme command at the battle of Ephesos (244 ?).[7] The most flourishing period of Rhodes began after the repulse of the Egyptian fleet in this action, and after a remarkable recovery from an earthquake in 222; from now onwards numbers of portrait-statues were set up, and some of the sculptors are known from their signatures.[8] The earliest of them is Phyles of Halikarnassos, whose name occurs in three (or four) inscriptions, and whose statue of Agathostratos at Delos was more or less contemporary with the battle, as its lettering is of the middle of the century. Phyles, as will be noted, came from Asia Minor, Boethos [9] from Calchedon, other artists are from Crete, Chios and Cyprus, and there are a few natives: the school was evidently cosmopolitan and up-to-date. The up-to-date style at the moment was the Pergamene; the other and greater art centre of the age attracted foreign artists in the same way as Rhodes; thus among the sculptors of the Gigantomachy were Athenians, and, if the fragmentary names are rightly restored,

[1] *Arch. Anz.* 1907, p. 140, Figs. 11, 12. For a Maenad head in the same fabric from Olbia see *Arch. Anz.* 1908, p. 190, and Fig. 19. [2] *La Coll. Warocqué*, No. 10.

[3] *Cat.* iii. No. 1783. Bought from Biliotti when Consul at Trebizond; there is no record of when or where he got it. Ht. 18 cm.

[4] On which see Sieveking, *Münchner Jahrb.* x. 1916–17, p. 179, with 3 pls. of Munich Glypt. No. 480, and figs. of Vatican head, *Cat.* II. Pl. 72, *Sala dei Busti*, No. 338, which Wace identifies as Demetrios Poliorketes.

[5] van Gelder, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier*, p. 383.

[6] Blinkenberg et Kinch, *III^e Rapport*, 1905, p. 48; *IV^e Rapport*, p. 31; *A.J.A.*[2] xii. 1908, p. 91, Fig. 4; Zervos, *Rhodes*, Fig. 261.

[7] *III^e Rapport*, p. 55.

[8] van Gelder, *op. cit.* p. 292; Hiller v. Gaertringen, *Jahrb.* ix. 1894, p. 23.

[9] *Mon. Piot*, xvii. 1909, p. 45; Klein, *Vom antiken Rokoko*, p. 26.

Rhodians, and a member of the Tralles family whose group of Dirke and the Bull (*Toro Farnese*) was set up at Rhodes.[1] It is therefore not surprising that there should be a Pergamene flavour in two monuments of this period from Lindos in the Constantinople Museum, a horse's head [2] and a colossal head of Athena.[3] The latter is badly weathered, but it certainly was in the manner of the Gigantomachy. Then the motive of the Telephos frieze is apparent in a votive relief in the British Museum,[4] and in the frieze from the tomb of a schoolmaster, Hieronymos, which can be dated epigraphically to the first half or middle of the second century.[5] The precise date of the Farnese Bull is unknown, which for my purposes does not matter, since the Naples group is a Roman elaboration of the original and is mostly restoration at that—the torsos of the young men, the lower part of Dirke, and the body of the bull, are the only surviving parts which are copied from the original.[6]

Rhodes declined greatly after the battle of Pydna (168): it lost its Asiatic possessions, and its trade was transferred to Delos, established as a free port in 166. It had no chance of recovery till the end of the Mithridatic War, when it came into favour once more with the Romans for standing a siege, and its rival Delos was badly damaged, to be finally extinguished in 69 by a pirates' raid.[7] The only monument of importance belonging to the latter half of the second century is a large gravestone in Constantinople [8] (Pl. X) with a male figure seated and a woman standing in the primitive variety of the Pudicitia attitude found in the Cleopatra of Delos, a work of 138 B.C.[9]

There are a few signatures of the later second century and then an enormous number in the period of renewed prosperity, which lasted till Cassius plundered the island in 43. These signatures are all of portrait-statues, which were almost invariably in bronze and have disappeared;

[1] Klein, *Gr. Kunst*, iii. p. 120.
[2] *Cat.* iii. No. 812.
[3] *Ibid.* No. 811.
[4] *B.C.H.* xxiii. 1899, p. 559, Pl. III, 1; *Röm. Mitt.* xvi. 1901, p. 258.
[5] *Br.-Br.* 579; v. Salis, *Altar v. Perg.* Fig. 19; *Hermes*, xxxvii. 1902, Pl. at p. 121; *B.C.H.* xxxvi. 1912, p. 237.
[6] Naples, *Guida*, No. 260; Studniczka, *Zeitschrift für bild. Kunst, N.F.*, xiv. 1903, p. 171.
[7] *Délos*, viii. i. p. 71; but cf. *Jahresh*, viii. 1905, p. 273.
[8] *Cat.* iii. No. 878. Ht. 1 m. 42 cm. Photo by the courtesy of Macridy Bey.
[9] *B.C.H.* xxxi. 1907, p. 415, Fig. 9; Collignon, *Stat. funéraires*, Fig. 188; *Délos*, viii. i. Fig. 95.

the only surviving bronze statue from the island is of Imperial date. We can, however, form some idea of first-century portraits at Rhodes from those at Delos which were their immediate predecessors, and those in Italy which succeeded them. Delos affords examples of male figures, both in heroic nudity [1] and wearing armour,[2] standing and on horseback, and of female statues in the Pudicitia pose,[3] all types still common under the emperors; there are also a number of heads of the normal Roman Republican character.[4] It may be presumed that Rhodes continued the Delos tradition as the eastern centre of an art which flourished equally in Rome. We have one specimen of its ideal sculpture, the Laokoon, which was made by Rhodians born about 80–75 B.C. and still active in 22 and 21, when they served as priests of Athena Lindia.[5] Theirs must have been practically the last ambitious work of the decaying city. A first-century date is probable for a small female head in the Shear Collection, which resembles the Tralles 'Koré' in Vienna;[6] and for a headless Term with a developed variety of the Pudicitia type, which was no doubt in common use for statues of women. The Rhodian provenance of the Term is not, however, certain: all that is known is that the British Museum acquired it from Biliotti.[7]

Philiskos of Rhodes is an artist of whom much has been said, but it is now clear that his group of Muses has not been rightly identified,[8] whilst the female statue in Constantinople belongs to the first century A.D., and the inscription found with it attributing it to him has curious features which seem to indicate that it is an antique forgery.[9] As for the fragment - - - - ς Ῥόδιος, discovered near the Niké of Samothrace and immediately lost, it is by no means evident that it is a signature coming from the base of the Niké or any other statue, and it may equally well belong to a decree of *proxenia*.[10]

I make no attempt to give a complete list of late sculpture from

[1] *E.g. B.C.H.* v. 1881, p. 390, Pl. XII: Hekler, *Portraits*, Pl. 127*b*.
[2] *E.g.* Billienus of *ca.* 100 B.C., *Délos*, v. p. 43, Fig. 60.
[3] *E.g.* the Cleopatra; an Augustan example in Naples, *Guida*, No. 50.
[4] *Mon. Piot*, xxiv. 1920, p. 93, Fig. 2; *B.C.H.* xix. 1895, p. 479, Figs. 6, 7; most are unpublished.
[5] Blinkenberg et Kinch, *III^e Rapport*, 1905, pp. 75–81.
[6] Shear, *A.J.A.*[2] xxiv. 1920, p. 313, Pls. II, III.
[7] *Cat.*, iii. No. 2140.
[8] Lippold, *Kopien*, p. 170.
[9] Schede, *Röm. Mitt.* xxxv. 1920, p. 65.
[10] van Gelder, p. 383, note 1; Reinach, *Revue des Études grecques*, v. 1892, p. 197.

Rhodes: many unimportant and undatable pieces are noted in museum catalogues.[1] But the above-mentioned objects include, so far as I know, everything which can help to solve the problem of whether or not Hellenistic Rhodes had a distinctive art. It remains to draw such conclusions as are suggested by the accumulated evidence.

In the fourth and early third centuries we have indications that all known schools were represented in the island, although perhaps the influence of Lysippos is most noticeable. The inscriptions show that sculptures were produced in great numbers at two periods of commercial prosperity, but in each case portrait-statues (as in merchant cities under the Empire) vastly predominate. The first period exactly corresponds to the time of artistic output at Pergamon under Attalos I and Eumenes II, and the few existing works from Rhodes are in the Pergamene style. Then comes a lull during which Delos takes ascendancy in trade and in horribly realistic portraiture of business men, but it is devastated in 88 and 69 and Rhodes comes to the fore again. Portraits are turned out in larger quantities than ever, but Italy is now avid for them and offers greater possibilities to sculptors: the eastern centre of Republican art was already dwarfed by Rome before the final decline of its prosperity during the latter part of the first century B.C. and its style appears to have been the same as the Roman. Neither at this nor at any other time was there anything distinctive about Rhodian sculpture.

A. W. LAWRENCE.

[1] See especially, British Museum, Berlin, Constantinople. There is an attractive gravestone from Rhodes (with a Doric inscription) in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (*Cat. Tillaeg*, 1914 and 1925, No. 229*a*; *Billedtavler*, lxxiii. No. 230*a*). Among copies may be noted here, a variant of Doidalsas' Venus in the Rhodes Museum (*Boll. d'Arte*[2], iii. 1923–4, p. 385); relief of two horsemen in late archaic style (Metrop. Mus. *Handbook*, Fig. 142; *Bulletin*, Jan. and March, 1906; Chase, *Sculpt. in Amer.*, Fig. 116; cf. Barracco *Cat.*, Pl. LII, and *Annali d. Inst.* 1862, Pl. F); figures of satyrs or Dionysos seated on rocks (Brit. Mus. *Cat.*, III. Nos. 1653–4, Pl. XXIII; *Olympia*, iii. p. 221, Fig. 248). An archaistic statuette of the bearded Dionysos in the Rhodes Museum is published in *Ann. Scuola di Atene*, iv.–v. 1921–2, p. 234, Fig. 1; reliefs from Lindos, Ed. Schmidt, *Archaist. Kunst.*, p. 31, Pl. XIV, 1.

STAMPED PITHOS FRAGMENTS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL.

(Plates XI, XII.)

In Volume XII of the *Annual of the British School* were published two fragments of stamped pithoi (Nos. I. and II.) from Kameiros, part of a series of such fragments in the collection of the School. The remaining examples, mainly from Melos, are described below, the drawings having been made at the same time as those published in 1906.[1]

No. III. (Pl. XI. *A*) ·105 × ·12 × ·02 — ·03 m. From Melos. Coarse reddish clay.

Decoration: border of arches; border of double plait with three strands in each twist and bosses between; frieze projecting ·004 m. with lion and Centaur. The lion's mouth is open, shewing the tongue, his left forepaw is raised. The motive of the paw is a common one: cf. the lion on the Ionic B.F. bowl, Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, iii. Pl. XXVIII. No. 128, and the kylix, Louvre, A. 478.[2] The Centaur, likewise, is a common type. He is the vanquished Centaur begging for mercy, made popular through illustrations like those of Herakles and Nessos,[3] and used here because he was a familiar figure which fitted the space. An excellent parallel is on a steatite lentoid intaglio from Melos.[4] The Centaur has equine, not human fore-legs, as on other pithos fragments from Melos: contrast the type with human fore-legs from Kameiros and Asia Minor, where it seems never to have been superseded.[5]

For the arches with rounded end uppermost cf. the pithos fragments from a tomb near Halikarnassos,[6] and Kekulé, *Terracotten*, ii. Pl. LVI. 2; reversed, they are a common motive.

[1] The white background on some of the fragments is not original but was put on at the time these drawings were made, to shew up the design.

[2] *Vases du Louvre*, i. Pl. XVII.

[3] See Baur, *Centaurs in Ancient Art*, p. 13 ff.

[4] Baur, *op. cit.*, p. 7, and Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, i. Pl. V. 28.

[5] Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camirus*, Pl. XXVII. 4 and 5, and Pl. XXVI.; *Ath. Mitt.* xxi. p. 230, Fig. 1 (from Datscha), p. 234, and Pl. VI. For the relation of the two types see Baur, *op. cit.*

[6] *J.H.S.* viii. p. 71, Fig. 10.

For the plait on pottery and bronzes see Furtwängler, *Olympia*, iv. p. 109. On pithoi there is a parallel of coarser type in the fragment in the Ashmolean Museum from Kastri Siteias,[1] and, of more elaborate type, on the amphora from Rhodes, A. 585, in the British Museum.

No. IV. (Pl. XII. *A*) ·205 × ·14 m. Thickness, ·02 m. without decorated band, ·03 including band. Height of band, ·065 m.; above it is a smooth rim, apparently the upper rim of the vase. From Melos.

The clay is coarse, and less red than that of No. III. Low relief.

Decoration: scroll ornament; bearded man in a chariot driving a pair of horses. That there are two horses is shewn by the double contour of the hind-legs.

Chariots are, of all subjects, the most common on pithoi. In the earlier period there are many variations; later, the racing chariot became the dominant type, especially in the West.

Compare the following:—

(i) Athens, Nat. Mus. *Ath. Mitt.*, xxi. Pl. VI. Two men in a chariot, one with a spear. The eight-spoked wheel shews that this fragment came from the eastern side of the Mediterranean.

(ii) British Museum, A. 585. Rhodian style. One man in the chariot, another walking behind. Eight-spoked wheel.

(iii) From Sparta. *B.S.A.* xii. Pl. IX. Warrior in chariot and warrior mounting.

(iv) From the Acropolis. *B.C.H.*, 1888, pp. 492–3. Acropolis Museum. Charioteer and warrior mounting.

(v) Candia. Inv. 7651. For design, see *A.J.A.*, 1901, Pl. XIV. 10, 11. Racing chariot, dog and hare below.

(vi) Candia. Inv. 7653. Racing chariot, dog and hare below.

(vii) Examples from Sicily, *e.g.* Kekulé, *Terracotten*, ii. Pl. LV. 2.

No. V. (Pl. XI. *B*) ·13 × ·105 m. Thickness, ·017 m.; including decorated band ·02 m. The decorated band is ·05 m. high. From Trypiti, Melos.

The clay is better than that of No. IV. and the mould appears somewhat finer.

Decoration: on the left, part of scrolls as in No. IV. Chariot, driver, and horses as in No. IV., except for slight differences on front of

[1] Inv. G. 4, *θ*. 7.

chariot. The upper part of the driver and lower part of the horse have been rubbed off.

No. VI. ·11 × 08 × ·035 m. From Melos.[1]

From the rim of a pithos. On the upper surface, plait as in No. III. On the side, a border of Lapiths and Centaurs, projecting ·005 m. beyond the plain surface below. The Centaur has equine legs cf. (No. III) and carries a branch. Herakles carries a club: contrast the double axe which is the weapon of the Lapiths on the pithoi from Rhodes and Asia Minor,[2] the sword and double axe in *Ath. Mitt.*, xxi. Pl. VI., and Herakles' bow on No. VII. below.

The design appears identical with that on the fragment published in *Ath. Mitt.*, xxi. Pl. V., and found in Plaka, Melos.[3] This also comes from the lip of a pithos, the upper surface of which is decorated with a plait. The border with the centauromachy is described as ·045 m. high, and the border of No. VI. is ·045–·05 m. high. It is tempting to think that those two fragments came from the same stamp and the same vase. On the other hand, the outstretched arm of the Lapith appears less angular on the Melian example. There are also traces of a flaw on the body of the Centaur which the fragment at the British School does not shew, but this may be independent of the stamp.

Baur, *Centaurs in Ancient Art*, p. 9, No. 14, describes a fragment which he thinks is probably from the same pithos as the fragment in *Ath. Mitt.*, 1896, Pl. V. 1, and certainly from the same cylinder. It is in the collection of Dr. D. M. Robinson of the Johns Hopkins University.

There is a comparison made by Baur[4] between the Melian pithos fragments and certain early archaic Melian intaglios.[5] It is interesting to note in this connection that a gem of this class (Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. V. 34), with a bird of prey pecking a fallen man, is paralleled by a design in relief from a large vase from Tenos[6]; just as Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, Pl. V. 30, with Herakles and the Old Man of the Sea, is paralleled by the scene on the Praesos plate.[7]

[1] Baur, *op. cit.*, p. 9, No. 15. He had not seen the fragment and imagined that there were others similar. [2] For references, see p. 75, Nos. i–v.

[3] I have not seen the fragment, as it could not be traced at Athens.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 7, 8.

[5] Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. V. 28, 29, 33.

[6] Courby, *Vases Grecs à Reliefs*, p. 81, Fig. 17.

[7] *B.S.A.* x. p. 148, Pl. III.

With the exception of chariots and chariot-racing, fights between Lapiths and Centaurs are the most popular subject on pithoi, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean and Rhodes. A list of examples follows :—

(i) From Kameiros. Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camirus*, Pl. XXVI.

(ii) ,, ,, Salzmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVII. = B.M. $\frac{64}{10-7}$

(iii) ,, ,, Salzmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVII. (another fragment).

(iv) From Datscha. *Ath. Mitt.* xxi. p. 230, Fig. 1 = Ath. Nat. Mus. 5606.

The above four examples are all of the same type with Centaurs and Lapiths standing side by side, not actually fighting, but with their hands touching. The Centaurs hold branches, the Lapiths double axes. The Centaurs have human fore-legs and very thick and bushy tails. The type has obviously been copied and misunderstood.

(v) Probably from the same region comes a fragment less primitive in conception and quite careful in execution : Athens, Nat. Mus. 5604 = *Ath. Mitt.* xxi. Pl. VI.

The purely decorative patterns on it are similar to the Rhodian, and one of the friezes shews the chariot with the eight-spoked wheel referred to above. The Centaurs and Lapiths are fighting : the former hold a sword in the right hand and a double axe in the left.

(vi). (No. VII (below).) Of a more advanced style, without any of the barbarian element.

(vii) From Melos. *Ath. Mitt.*, 1896, Pl. V.

(viii) Ashmolean Museum (Inv. g. θ–7). From Kastri Siteias; though fragmentary, is probably the same subject.

(ix) *B.C.H.*, 1888, p. 496, No. 9 (description only).

(x) At Athens. Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii. Pl. LXIII. 1–3.

(xi) *Kekulé, op. cit.*, ii. Pl. LVI. 2 and 3. From Sicily.

No. VII. (Pl. XII. *B*) ·105 × ·17 m. Thickness, ·015 m.; including decorated band, ·023 m. From Provata, Melos.

Moderately fine clay. The relief is rounded and the style, on the whole, advanced.

Decoration : between a narrow moulding above and below, Herakles and Centaurs : galloping Centaur with branch; Herakles with bow; fallen Centaur with arrow in his back; galloping Centaur. Both Herakles

and Centaurs are drawn with bristly hair, which in one case gives the illusion of horns, and the tail of the Centaur is treated in the same way. For the hair there is a good parallel on a kylix from the Forman Collection.[1] Behind the head of the Centaur on the right, part of a branch can be seen.

No. VIII. ·15 × ·135 × ·025 m. (including border). Border ·045 high. From Kastriani, Melos.

Design, similar to No. VII. Only a small part of Herakles is shewn, but the running and fallen Centaurs are almost complete, and have been used to complete No. VII. where they are indicated by the dotted lines. The relief is lower than in No. VII. there is less detail, no moulding, and the figures are a little more widely spaced. Nos. VIII. and VII. are probably from the same stamp, for a ridge across the back legs of the fallen Centaur is common to both : the lower relief and loss of detail in No. VIII. may be due to the stamp having been filled up or worn ; probably the former, as one of the Centaur's arms is in fuller relief. The moulding which appears on No. VII. is probably not part of the stamp, and the wider spacing may shew that the figures were stamped separately.

No. IX. ·105 × 135 × ·025 m. Height of border, ·045 m.

Coarse clay, design much rubbed.

The hind-quarters of a Centaur or horse can be distinguished in the same position as the middle Centaur of No. VII. Probably from the same pithos as No. VIII.

No. X. (Pl. XI. *C*) ·20 × ·095 × ·027 m. Bought at Phylakopi, Melos.

Moderately coarse red clay.

Decoration : on a band ·045 high, lion (or dog) and Sphinx alternately. The stamp has slipped at one place ; also the two animals on the right have been stamped a little higher up than those on the left.

The heavy style is distinctive.[2] Particularly notable is the *stephané* worn by the Sphinx, which has some resemblance to that worn by the goddess on an ivory relief from Sparta.[3] Compare also a Sphinx wearing a *stephané*, which is, however, of a more usual form, on an unpublished fragment in the Sparta Museum.[4]

No. XI. ·11 × ·107 × ·025 m.

Coarse clay, whitish in parts.

[1] *Forman Collection, Sale Catalogue*, No. 319. Baur, *op. cit.*, p. 25, Fig. 6.

[2] The lions and Sphinxes on the reliefs from the Heraeum (Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, i. Pl. LXIII. 5) are unlike ours.

[3] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 78, Fig. 17, *b*.

[4] No. 46 from the Heroön.

Decoration: two strands of rope pattern above, and traces of a triangular arrangement of ropework below.

No. XII. ·08 × ·11 × ·027 m. From Kameiros.

Coarse clay with traces of white slip.

Above, concentric circles joined by inverted Vs; below, inverted triangles with horizontal hatching. The hatched triangles are particularly associated with Rhodes: cf. Salzmann, *Necropolé de Camirus*, Pl. XXVII. For the circles cf. *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVI.

The dating of pithos fragments is often uncertain, for loss of detail makes comparison difficult. We should also take into account the fact that when a stamp was worn out, the design might be copied on to a new stamp with only very slight alterations; the first of the series might have been made by a superior craftsman, influenced by nice work in bronze or vase-painting, and the copies by less skilful hands. Hence the temptation for critics to date a fragment too early.

Of the Melian designs described above, the earliest is No. X., which may belong to the first half of the sixth century B.C.; the next, No. III., to the second half of the sixth century; the latest, No. V., is well into the fifth century.

The charm of the stamped pithoi is that they are a local craft and a comparatively humble one, therefore the styles of each district are usually very distinct. This is particularly the case in the Cretan and Rhodian classes, to the latter of which the collection at the British School adds three examples (two in *B.S.A.* xii. *loc. cit.*).

The Melian class has, however, been badly represented till now. Only two pieces have been published,[1] the two mentioned on p. 74, with a design similar to our No. VI. It is now amplified by the eight examples from Melos described above, which illustrate both its development over a period of about a century, and the remarkable variety of its types.

WINIFRED LAMB.

[1] See Courby, *Vases Grecs à Reliefs*, p. 82.

SIGNATURES AND CADENCES OF THE BYZANTINE MODES.

First Study.

1. *Recent Works on Byzantine Music.*

The output of books and articles dealing with Byzantine music has in the last few years been small. Dr. Wellesz [1] has written a valuable summary of information not only on Greek, but also on Armenian and other Eastern ecclesiastical music. Prof. Psachos [2] of Athens has tried to revive the so-called Stenographic Theory of the Neumes, which was current in the time of Chrysanthus. But, although his reputation as a musical investigator stands deservedly high, it seems very unlikely that Western scholars will accept the theory on the evidence afforded. In Dom Jeannin's introductory volume on Syrian music there is a good deal of information on the Byzantine system. Most important is his account of certain phonographic experiments made by Père Thibaut on the Modern Greek modes, proving these, where untouched by recent Western influence, to be identical with some of the Turkish scales.[3] We must therefore recognise in England (as continental writers have long done) that the modern or Chrysanthine system is mainly Oriental and that its connection with the mediaeval modes is quite remote. In other words, Byzantine music is not a thing that any Greek cantor could teach us or a gramophone-record make intelligible.[4] Lastly, an article by C. Höeg of Copenhagen throws light on the origins of Byzantine

[1] E. Wellesz, *Aufgaben u. Probleme auf d. Gebiet d. Byz. u. orient. Kirchenmus.* (My review in *Byz. Zeitschr.* xxv. 376.)

[2] Ἡ Παρασημαντικὴ τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς. (Athens, 1917.) (See my discussion of the theory in *Laudate*, Dec. 1924, p. 214.)

[3] This I have already tried to prove on general grounds in *B.S.A.* xxii. 147.

[4] I have attempted an appreciation of Dom Jeannin's book, *Mélodies Liturgiques Syriennes et Chaldéennes* (Paris, 1925) in *Laudate*, Sept. 1925, p. 143. The notion current in England that the Modern Greek system is the true and only Byzantine music was fostered by S. G. Hatherly's *Treatise on Byz. Music*, which deals almost entirely with the modern system. There seems to be no doubt that in the Middle Ages the Byzantine and Gregorian modes used the same intervals. The best authorities hold that the earliest Jewish and Syrian melodies were also diatonic.

musical theory,[1] which appears to have grown up within the Roman Empire, probably in Egypt or Syria, as a popular system, less abstruse than that of classical times.

2. *The Problem of the Signatures.*

It will be seen that only one of the writers mentioned has contributed much to the decipherment of the musical notation; and one reason may be that the guidance so far available does not always surmount the difficulties even of the familiar Round system. Indeed we still lack an answer in many instances to the first question that confronts us—from what note is the melody to begin?[2]

Byzantine music has eight modes; and every mode has a certain note, called Finalis, on which a melody in that mode is expected to end. The Finalis is also regarded as the starting-point for the chain of intervals forming the melody. Further, we find in the mediaeval handbooks that every mode has a Martyria or Signature, which is not only used initially, but also at medial cadences to help the singer. Thus in Mode I we should find the signature (ἦχος α', for *a*) at the beginning; and later on, if a pause had to be made on, say *f*, we might mark this with the signature of the Third Plagal Mode, called ἦχος βαρύς; if on *c'*, with that of the Third Authentic Mode, and so on.

Unfortunately the matter is not always so simple. For, on looking through a MS. of the golden age of Byzantine Hymnody (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries), we notice a far greater variety of signatures than the eight modes seem to require. Trial very soon shows that not every hymn takes its departure from the recognised Finalis of the mode indicated. It is, however, quite possible to collect examples of most of the signatures; and when these are interpreted, the main difficulty will disappear. In the present state of our knowledge the discussion of

[1] *Revue des Études grecques*, tome xxv. No. 162, p. 321.

[2] A reader unfamiliar with the subject is advised to look at my article in *B.S.A.* xxii. 133 (*The Modes of Byz. Music*); and I may also refer to my little book, *Byz. Music and Hymnography*, for a general account. The best introduction to the subject is O. Fleischer, *Neumenstudien*, T. III. The table of signatures given by Gastoué (Am.), *Introduction à la Paléographie Mus. Byz.*, p. 25, is hardly adequate. Nor is Riemann's view of them (*Die byz. Notenschrift*, p. 5) altogether correct. For the palaeographical development of the notation much valuable material will be found in J. Thibaut, *Monuments de la Notation Ekphonétique et Hagiopolite*, etc., and in *Exempla Codicum Graecorum, vol. alterum*, edd. Georgius Cereteli et Sergius Sobolevski. But few of the facsimiles in these books are clear enough to help us much in our present study.

faint or partially illegible passages is a profitless undertaking. It is far better to search for clear texts of all extant hymns and by their aid, if need be, to verify doubtful readings. I was fortunate, therefore, in being able to visit the Monastery of Grottaferrata in the spring of 1922, and again in 1925, when by the kind permission of the Father Abbot I took a large number of photographs of several musical codices. Grottaferrata library is richly favoured; for there can be few musical manuscripts clearer or more complete than the thirteenth-century Hirmologus in the Round Notation numbered E. γ. II. It contains many odes of which even the words are not found in print, while of the melodies (except for the small extract given by Prof. Riemann [1]) no use has been made since the Middle Ages. The investigator breaks new ground at every step. The Neumes are in the Round or Hagiopolitan system of the best period; and their transcription is, on the whole, a simple matter. This codex is the basis of our present study.

Mode I. If we look at the signature or Martyria of this mode, we see that it consists of a stylised alpha (like the figure 9) surmounted by two commas and followed by the sign of an ascending fifth (Oxeia, Hypsele) (Fig. 1). The commas are not the Double Apostrophus, but they simply represent the old half-circle used in the older notation above the signature ($\hat{a}$, $\hat{\beta}$, etc.). They have therefore no musical value. Theorists agree that Mode I is the scale *d–d'*; and the presence of the upward fifth suggests that *a* is the point of departure for the melody. This assumption works out perfectly well. Most hymns, when taken from *a*, return to it, while a few end on *d*. I know one example that begins from *d* and ends on *a*.[2] In late MSS. we find *d* as the usual starting-point and Finalis, as also in the modern or Chrysanthine system. The plain signature ϑ is used chiefly at medial cadences, for *a* or *d*. Of all modes, the First Authentic is the easiest and simplest. This may be why the vast majority of the examples of Byzantine music so far published are in that mode. Thus in Fleischer's great work there are at least twenty-seven pages of versions in Mode I, about four pages in Mode II, and only short passages in the others.[3]

[1] *Die byz. Notenschrift*, Pl. VIII. See also *B.S.A.* xxi. 138 ff. I have given a reproduction of another page, with the interpretation, in *Byz. Zeitschr.* xxiii. 326.

[2] Cod. Cryptoferr. E. γ. II. f. 8 *b*, Ode VI.

[3] O. Fleischer, *Neumenstudien*, T. III. Fleischer is the master and leader of us all in musical palaeography.

A frequent cadence is *ga, a, a.* We also find *fe, d, d* (or *c'baa*), *f, d, d* (or *c', a, a*) commonly in this and in other MSS., rarely *c'ba* or *gba.*

Mode II. According to mediaeval theory, this mode begins one note above Mode I, that is to say, on *b*-natural (or *h*). But examples show that *g* was also taken as a starting-point and bears the plain signature of a cursive beta and two commas (No. 1 in Fig. 1). The addition of Oxeia, Kentemata (two seconds upwards) indicates a start from *b* (No. 2 in diagram).[1] Both forms use the same cadential formulae and both usually end on *e.* The inner cadences and structure are alike. There can, therefore, be no question of a different scale, but only of a different initial intonation. This matter will be discussed later on.

In the MS., Cryptoferratensis E. Γ, II. I have read twenty-one Hirmi in this mode. Of these, fourteen have the *b*-signature (No. 2) and all but one work out right. Six have the *g*-signature and read correctly. One has the sign of an ascending second (No. 3). This points to *a* as the starting-note, and the result confirms it. The fourth form of the signature occurs in the Athos MS., Vatopedi 288, f. 368*b* (date about 1290). Here the formula seems to read *b, a, g* (from *b*: Oxeia annulled by Ison). Two fairly probable examples occur on that page. The use of *g* in Mode II is paralleled by the practice of modern times, although the Chrysanthine scale is purely Oriental. Possibly the confusion arose from the idea that Mode II was midway between Mode I (*a*) and Mode III (*f* or *c'*), which would give either note.

The cadences observed are (*a*) *g, fe, (e), fg, gf, e; f g f e* (rare); *ac' b, b; d' c' b b* (rare).

Mode III. The proper starting-note is *c'* (No. 1 in diagram), but *a* is also admitted. It will be seen that the signature for *a* (No. 2) is quite conventional: the half-circle has become a stroke. I have read five clear examples from *c'* in our MS. Of six Hirmi with the *a*-signature one is doubtful, but five succeed. The rare signature No. 4 indicates *c'*. No. 3 occurs in the Trinity MS. (Cambridge) 1165 [2] and probably denotes *a.* The signature like two question-marks (short for nana) is used medially

[1] A late and still more stylised form of this signature will be found in Fleischer, *op. cit.* Transcriptions, pp. 40, 41.

[2] For this MS. cf. *B.S.A.* xxiii. 201. CORRECTION, *ibidem*, p. 200. The MS. *Gonv. et Cai. 772 plus* 815, belongs to the eighteenth (not seventeenth) century.

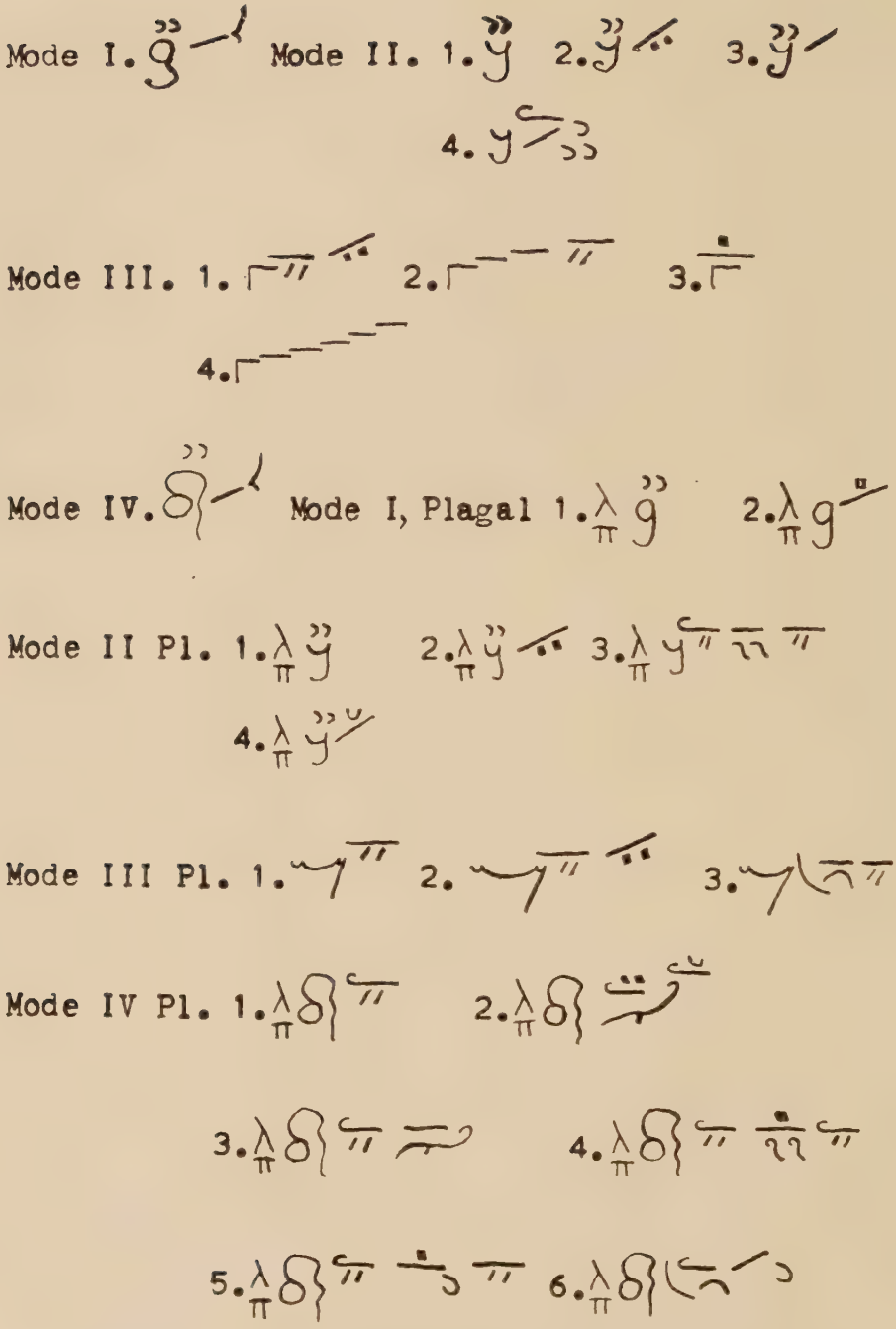


FIG. 1.—SIGNATURES OR MARTYRIAE OF THE BYZANTINE MODES IN THE ROUND NOTATION.

in some MSS. for *f* and *c′*, the finals of this mode, but initially only in late MSS., as also in the Chrysanthine system (Finalis *f*).

Cadences: *a g f f; ga c′ c′* (rare); *e′ d′ c′ c′* (rare); *ga a f* (rare).

Mode IV. The signature is analogous to that of Mode I; and no by-forms occur. The question of pitch is more perplexing. Where the melody regains its starting-note at the end of the piece, the note *g* (rather than *d′*) gives the best result. But if it ends a fifth *above* its first note, we should be tempted to begin the tune on *c*, borrowing *b*-flat from the Fourth Plagal.[1] It is not unlikely (owing to the position of this mode at the top of the scale) that alternative forms were allowed, a high voice taking *d′, g* as the Finals, and a low voice *g, c*. The compass would be *g–a′* and *c–d′* (rarely *b′* or *e′*) in the two cases. A feature of this mode is a frequent leap of a fifth upwards or downwards, near the beginning.

Cadences: *b a g (g); b, g, g* (or *f′ e′ d′ d′* and *f′, d′, d′*). The Trinity Hirmologus (1165, O. 2, 61) also has *g a g g*.

Mode I, Plagal. The normal and usual starting-note is *d*. This is shown by signature No. 1, which stands for πλάγιος α′. Of this I have read fifteen specimens in our MS., all correct. The second form seems to require *g* (ascending fourth in the signature), but more evidence is needed to establish it: only two examples noted, and one of these doubtful. The use of *a* as initial-note and Finalis, or both, is seen in the Trinity Hirmologus.[2]

Cadences: *f d d; f e d (d)*. The scale is *d–d′* with *b*-flat.

Mode II, Plagal. This mode has the scale *e–e′* with *B*-flat. It has the following initial notes (*vide* diagram).

No. 1 = *e*. Fifteen clear examples in our MS. have been transcribed and no doubtful case has been found. This is the normal type.[3]

No. 2 = *g*. This is rare: we found two clear examples and one doubtful.

No. 3 = *a*. As will be seen, this formula contains three ascending seconds and the Martyria of Mode III. Evidently the notes *ef, g, a* were to be intoned. We have deciphered fourteen clear specimens of hymns with this beginning, while only four were doubtful. The type may be therefore safely admitted.

[1] I have done this in *B.S.A.* xxi. 143. The result seems satisfactory to the ear.

[2] See f. 67*b*. The cadence there is *b a g a*. There is a doubtful signature in Cod. Ambros. 733, f. 320*b* (Milan), giving the formula *c B d e*, where the text is otherwise uncertain.

[3] A good example, also clear, in Cereteli, *op. cit.* xxix. (date 1292).

No. 4 = *f*. Three clear examples and one doubtful have been discovered in our MS.[1]

Cadences: the progression (*a*)*gfee* seems to be almost invariable in our MS.: it occurs also in the Trinity Sticherarium (256).

Mode III, Plagal or Barys. This mode in our MS. and apparently in all Hirmological music[2] (that is, in *Canons*) does not begin from low *B*-flat (as its name might suggest), but usually from *f*. It answers to our *f*-major scale. The signatures all contain an abbreviation of βαρύς: they are:—

No. 1 = *f* (the stroke is purely conventional). Thirty-six clear specimens have been deciphered in our MS.: six fail, but can easily be emended.

No. 2 = *a* (two ascending seconds added to No. 1). Three clear, one doubtful.

No. 3 is uncertain: it occurs but once and the text is partly obscure.

Cadences: (*c' g*) *a, gf, f*; also *gaaf* (once only).

Mode IV, Plagal. This mode, although its theoretical Finalis is *c*, nearly always appears in its transposed form (like the other plagal modes) and uses *g* for its initial note, requiring *B*-flat. It allows, however, more variety than any other mode; and we have traced the following types, while other MSS. might be able to augment the list:—

No. 1 = *g*. This is the standard form. From our photographs we have deciphered twenty-three odes correctly, while four were doubtful.

No. 2 = *a*. The Martyria gives the formula *gaa*, with prolongation of *g*. We have read eight clear examples in our MS., and another, also clear in the Milan MS., Ambros. 733, f. 247.

No. 3 = *a*. The formula is *g, a*, both long. Three clear examples read.

No. 4 = *c'*. The formula contains the Martyria of Mode III and points to the phrase *gc'c'*. Four clear and two doubtful examples. There is reason for thinking that this was a recognised by-form, called

[1] A clear example in Cod. Ambros. 733, f. 310*b*. Another in the Trinity Sticherarium, 256, f. 16. For the latter MS. see *B.S.A.* xxiii. 201.

[2] Hirmological music is the least florid. Next comes Sticherarical and finally Papadical, which is highly ornate and admits all kinds of meaningless vocalisations. In this last species Mode III, Pl. seems to use *B*-flat as a starting-note. The Chrysanthine system has preserved the form from *f* and the low form, the intervals, however, being much confused.

Na-Na, intermediate between Mode III and IV, Pl. It probably used *b*-natural (*h*) except when approaching a cadence.

No. 5 = *c'*. Formula *gc'bc'*. Three clear and two doubtful examples. This type is probably similar to No. 4.

No. 6 = *e*. Formula *gefe*. One clear and one doubtful specimen.[1]

Cadences : (*c'*) *bag*(*g*) most frequent, whatever be the initial formula; also *c'a gg*(*g*) and *gaggg* (rare).

In choosing hymns for study, we have naturally sought out specimens of the rarer signatures, so that the information tabulated above is more exhaustive than the mere numbers might suggest. Many of the failures are probably due to mistakes in the MS., for no scribe is faultless. Space does not allow us to set out all the results derived from other MSS., but these on the whole bear out the conclusions that we have reached. We have, of course, not exhibited all the known forms of signature, especially those used at medial cadences. But the ordinary types, as illustrated in our diagram and explained above, will enable the student, given clear text, to read at least eighty per cent. of the hymns extant in the Round Notation. We now ask : whence came the diversity of signature?

3. *The Initial Formulae of the Modes.*

It is well known that every mode was designated in the Middle Ages by a certain syllabic formula, like Ananes, Neanes, or the like.[2] These are usually called ἠχήματα; and for an English term we suggest 'Invocation.' The use of these formulae is explained in the mediaeval handbook attributed to Hagiopolites,[3] where we read as follows :—'When we are about to sing or to teach, we must begin with a vocal exercise (ἐνήχημα). For the vocal exercise is the laying-on (ἐπιβολή) of the mode; as if I should say Ana-ne-anes, which is "O King, forgive." For the

[1] Cod. Ambros. 733, f. 310*b* gives a formula *ggef*, which works out right, the text, however, not being absolutely clear.

[2] See Fleischer, *op. cit.* pp. 37, 42, 47, and Transcr. pp. 1–7; Chrysanthus, Θεωρητικὸν μέγα τῆς Μουσικῆς § 307; Rebours, *Traité de Psaltique*, p. 280 ff.; Gastoué, *Introd. à la Paléogr. Mus. Byz.* 29; *B.S.A.* xxii. 137. The names ἦχημα, ἐνήχημα, ἀπήχημα seem to be interchangeable.

[3] Thibaut, *Monuments*, p. 57. The first mention of the system of Eight Modes in the East is in 513 (*ibid.* p. 19). The West adopted it in the ninth century (*Bede*, †. 735, and Roswitha, *c.* 950, write on music, but do not mention the Eight Modes). Alcuin, †. 804, seems to be the first Western writer who knows them. (See Fleischer, *op. cit.* p. 41.)

beginning of all things ought to originate in God and the end to be with God.'

The last phrase does not mean that the Invocation was repeated after the hymn. Our author is merely uttering a pious sentiment—and with truth, for Byzantine hymns as a rule end either with a Doxology or with a prayer for the souls of the worshippers. We can well conceive that, if it was usual to sing certain notes before the beginning of the hymn, an accomplished singer might vary the formula; and in fact we find in some MSS. only short Invocations, but elsewhere elaborate florid passages. One or two examples may be quoted :—

Thus for Mode II the Ambrosian MS.[1] has simply

b a g a b
νε α νες – –

The Sticherarium, Cryptoferr. E. α, II, has

g ab bc′ ba g g ab a g a b
νε – α – νε – α – νε – α – νε – – ε – ε –

ba b a gab
νε – νε α – νες – –

A later hand has added in the margin the ordinary Martyria for Mode II (*gab*).

For Mode IV the Ambrosian gives

gfe d – c d e f g
α – γι – α . . . .

And Cryptoferratensis :

g c ef gfe agf ed c g
α – α – α – α – α – γι – α – α

The plain signature again is added in the margin. The later scribe evidently found these long formulae too complicated and wished to imply that a simpler Invocation would do.

We now suggest that in these Invocations is found one clue to the mystery of the varied signatures of the eight modes : that, as the singer's art in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries made a diversity of formulae

[1] I hope to give a fuller account of this MS. in *J.H.S.* 1926, Pt. II. For other Invocations see *B.S.A.* xxii. 137. Rebours, *l.c.*, has transcribed the formulae given as mediaeval by Chrysanthus, who with perfect candour admits that they did not agree with the practice of his own time.

possible, the signature indicated the general nature of the introductory flourish. A modest cantor would be satisfied with the notes before him, while a virtuoso might embroider a vocal passage taking a minute or more in performance.

But this is only half the answer. We still do not know why, for instance, the Second Mode began sometimes from *g* and not always from *b*, its proper starting-note. With the exact intervals of the Round Notation there was no practical utility in the retention of both types. Can it have been a survival? Before the eight modes were adopted there must have been many hymns extant that did not fit into the scheme. It seems that these were sorted out by modes according to their final notes. This we may safely infer from the comparative uniformity of the cadences in the several modes—the cadence not varying with the variations of the initial Martyria. But before the Neumes had gained their exact values,[1] some aid to memory would have been very helpful in guiding the singer to his first note. And such we may conjecture to have been one use of the Invocation. Unfortunately we cannot supply the proofs; but still a certain probability can be claimed. For although the earliest MSS. never add any interval-signs to the letter indicating the number of the mode, yet in the Coislin system (the last stage before the Round Notation) such signs occur;[2] and in our opinion they point to the use of initial formulae. We cannot, however, decide whether such formulae had existed from the beginning, and were remembered, though unwritten (like many interval-values even in the hymns themselves), or were only invented in the thirteenth century, when the Round Notation was beginning to oust the Linear. Until the earlier Neumes have been properly read, we cannot speak with assurance about anything older than 1250, but it seems not unlikely that singers used, in the manner suggested above, the syllabic formulae current already in the ninth century and recognised as indispensable adjuncts to ecclesiastical music.

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[1] The older Neumes, sometimes called Linear or Constantinopolitan (also Palaeo-byzantine), only gave a general indication of the course of the melody. (This view, which I put forward in *J.H.S.* xli. 29, is in agreement with the opinions of Wellesz and apparently of Thibaut.) The early notation belongs to the years A.D. 1000–1250.

[2] *E.g.* in the MS. Sinaiticus 1214. The name of this notation is taken from the MS. at Paris, Coislin 220, which is the most famous example of it. (Facs. in Riemann, *op. cit.* Pl. IV.)

EROS: IN EARLY ATTIC LEGEND AND ART.

(Plate XIII.)

I.—Τριφυὴς Ἔρως.

The Greek Love-god of the fifth and fourth centuries before our era may perhaps be looked upon as an amalgamation of three distinct divine entities. Eros was Love, the creative desire of nature, and as such the soul within god and man; Eros was the love-child, son of Aphrodite-Cypris; Eros was the idealisation of human beauty beloved.

In the ancient cult centres of Thespiae [1] and Parium [2] the god was apparently not so much the personification of human love as a great physical and elemental force of nature. As such he ranks among the three primaeval Forces in the Theogony of Hesiod, who opens with these words his tale of creation (116 ff.): 'Verily at the first Chaos came to be, but next wide-bosomed Earth, the ever-sure foundation of all the deathless ones who hold the peaks of snowy Olympos and dim Tartaros in the wide-pathed earth, and Eros, fairest among the deathless gods, who unnerves the limbs and overcomes the mind and counsels within them of all gods and all men.' This is apparently the Eros who figured in the earliest Orphic Theogony, concerning which A. B. Cook has collected a wealth of material.[3] He reconstructs partially the contents, which possibly told that in the beginning was Nyx. Black-winged Nyx laid an egg from which 'sprang golden-winged Eros. Apparently heaven and earth were regarded as the upper and lower halves of the vast egg.'

This early Theogony, then, assigned a primary position to Cosmic Desire or Love under the name of Eros, and Eros proves to be 'in some sense the very soul or self of a deity variously named. Hence his intimate connection with Wind—a common form of Soul. . . . The Orphic cosmogonies rest in part upon a primitive psychology which explained

[1] Pausan., ix. 27. 1. The image of Eros at Thespiae was an unwrought stone.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, J. G. Frazer, in his *Commentary ad. loc.*, refers only to the image of Eros by Praxiteles at Parium. From the way in which Pausanias couples Thespiae and Parium we may probably infer that Parium had also an ancient and primitive cult-image of the god.

[3] *Zeus*, ii. Appendix G, p. 1020 ff.

desire (ἔρος, ἔρως) as the issuing of the soul from the mouth in the form of a small winged being.' [1] Eros in one aspect, familiar to Hesiod, was thus the soul of Creation.[2]

But Hesiod, not a hundred lines further on, names another Eros, the second entity, the child of Aphrodite. After the tale of the magic birth of Aphrodite from the foam and her landing upon Cyprus there come the lines (201 ff.) : ' And with her went Eros, and comely Himeros (Longing) followed her at her birth at the first, as she went into the assembly of the gods. This honour she has from the beginning, and this is the portion allotted to her amongst men and the undying gods—the whisperings of maidens and smiles and deceits with sweet delight and love and graciousness.'

It was apparently this Eros, child of Aphrodite, twin brother of Himeros, whom Aeolians and Boeotians—if Hesiod may be claimed as representing both—as well as Athenians up to the middle of the sixth century B.C. honoured. He was the Eros of the man-in-the-street and the girl-in-the-garden, not of the philosopher or the mystic. The evidence for this fact, as far as Athens is concerned, is supplied by a remarkable fragment of a terracotta votive plaque from the Acropolis (Fig. 1).[3] The painting represents Aphrodite turned to the right, an Aphrodite who might have been drawn by some contemporary of Klitias, painter of the François vase. On this ground the plaque may be regarded as belonging possibly to the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. In her arms the goddess holds two children, the child on her right arm being designated ΗΙΜΕΡΟΣ, while the other, the first letter of whose name alone survives, is certainly Ε(ρος). Though the anatomy of the pair is not

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 1039. For further proof of this afforded by the coins of Caulonia and a South Italian terracotta cf. p. 1040 ff.

[2] Beside this concept of the soul as wind, or breath, issuing from the mouth, there seems to have existed another primitive notion according to which the seat of the soul was in the reproductive organs. Traces of this belief may be seen in the primitive *Phallus* cult, transferred from the East to Greece, the *Phallus* being worshipped as the actual vehicle of the creative, productive power of the deity, being vested, in fact, with the very soul of the god. Cf. Wundt (transl. E. L. Schaub), *Elements of Folk Psychology*, 1916, p. 211 f. The aniconic Thespian Eros may have been such a primitive *phallus*, in which event the stone was simply the vehicle for the divine cosmic desire. Compare the frequent association in Hellenistic art of Erotes and Priapus, Roscher, *Lex.* iii. 2985 f.

[3] Here published for the first time. I am indebted to Prof. J. D. Beazley for bringing this plaque to my notice, and to Dr. Buschor, of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, for permission to publish it, the members of the Institute being at present engaged on a catalogue of the painted *pinakes* in the Acropolis Museum.

that of infants in arms, since such anatomy was beyond the scope of archaic art, the fact that they are in the arms of the goddess proves them to be intended for divine infants, not *mellepheboi*, or youths of about fourteen years.

Before the reign of the tyrant Hippias ushered in Dorian fashions and ideas the people of Athens, it would seem, looked upon Eros as a wingless child, son of Aphrodite, an innocent *daimon* following with Himeros in the train of Hesiod's foam-born goddess.

Meanwhile the Dorian element in the population of Hellas had,

FIG. 1.—EROS, HIMEROS AND APHRODITE ON A PLAQUE FROM THE ACROPOLIS.

owing to the strange custom of the race, conceived of a different Eros, a *mellephebos*, the impersonation—one might say the idealisation—not of abstract Love, nor of the ἐραστής, but of the ἐρώμενος.[1] This was the third Eros, he of the gymnasium and palaistra, no aniconic stone or child in arms, but a youth approaching manhood, winged because, like the Sphinx and Eris, like Hypnos and Niké, he was a *daimon* midway between gods and men. The child-god type receded before the type of the *mellephebos* and appeared thenceforward only on rare occasions,[2]

[1] J. D. Beazley, *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems*, p. 28. 'Eros . . . is the deification of the Eromenos, of the pursued and not the pursuer.' This, however, seems strictly applicable only to the Dorian Eros under discussion.

[2] The child Eros is figured on an engraved gem signed by Phrygillos, probably the Syracusan die-engraver of the end of the fifth century B.C. See Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexikon*, i. p. 1356, 52.

until the Hellenistic age, reviving, as was its wont, earlier ideas, transformed the youthful god back to a child again.

While fifth- and fourth-century representations of Eros, the *melle-phebos*, are plentiful, the statuette, of which a description follows, would seem to be the sole extant sixth-century monument in stone representing Eros the winged youth (Pl. XIII).

STATUETTE in fine *poros* stone, 12·7 centimetres = 5 inches high (as preserved, the original height of the figure must have been about $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches). Eros standing upright, the left leg somewhat in advance. He is nude but for a chlamys, which, passing round the neck, hangs down on either side of the body in stiff folds. The hair rising from the forehead like a *perruque* has a double row of drill-holes within which are remains of orange paint, while on the head the hair is indicated by graved lines radiating from the centre of the cranium. Eyes and lids are prominent, cheek-bones high, lips slightly drawn up at the corners giving a faint 'archaic smile,' the chin rounded, the ears large and standing out from the head. The neck is thick and columnar. In all these points the head is found to agree in style with the heads of certain *korai* from the Acropolis.[1]

The chest is broad and deep, the pectoral muscles being set too high, in which respect the statuette resembles the Apollo Piombino in the Louvre;[2] the line of the sternum is, however, not central owing to a certain carelessness in the carving. Abdomen and thighs are well modelled.[3] The back from shoulder blades to waist was hidden by a pair of large curled wings set, like those of the Naxian Sphinx at Delphi,[4] at right angles to the shoulders. The arms, missing from below the shoulders, were bent at the elbow, the forearms passing over the hanging ends of the chlamys and bent in so that the hands held objects which were in contact with the abdomen above the navel.

Besides the orange paint[5] in the hair there are considerable remains of red paint upon the chlamys.

[1] *E.g.* Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, viii. p. 603, Fig. 303; p. 584, Fig. 293.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 472, Pl. XI.

[3] The pudenda are, as in all sixth-century statues, level. The hair of the pubes forms a triangular patch, not unduly schematised.

[4] Perrot et Chipiez, *loc. cit.*, p. 395, Fig. 185. Cf. also the wings of the Sphinx from Spata, in Attica, *id.*, p. 659, Fig. 337.

[5] Yellow hair became the fashion in Athens under the Peisistratidai. Apart from that, however, Eros was generally thought of as golden-haired.

In a private collection in England.[1]

In addition to the *poros* statues in the Acropolis Museum and those at Delphi from the western pediment of the Alcmaeonid temple of Apollo,[2] I know of no other Attic *poros* statues save a mutilated head in the museum at Berlin.[3] It is for this reason that our Eros has appeared to me deserving of a somewhat detailed description; and while *poros* statues are rare, this specimen is the smallest recorded in the material and the oldest example yet known of the winged Eros in classical sculpture.

A comparison is worth making between the statuette and three archaic gems in the Lewes House Collection.[4]

(*a*) (*b*) (*c*)

FIG. 2.—ENGRAVED GEMS, DEPICTING EROS (Scale 2 : 1)

Of these, the first (Fig. 2*a*) is dated by J. D. Beazley to the second half of the sixth century B.C., the second and third[5] as of the early fifth century. Eros on the second of these stones is in type closely related to the Eros of our statuette, for both have a similar *coiffure*, both the folded chlamys; but it is unlikely that the stone Eros, like the figure on the gem, held twigs in his hands.

Some objects larger than twigs they must have been, for at the right side in particular a large fractured surface on the side of the abdomen

[1] This remarkable statuette, which was acquired in Paris, was brought to that city by an Athenian dealer who vouched for the fact that it had been found in Athens.

[2] Concerning the date, *ca.* 502 B.C., of the completion of this temple, see my *Athens, its History and Coinage*, p. 97.

[3] Kekule von Stradonitz, *Die Griechische Skulptur*[3], p. 46. Of non-Attic *poros* statues I have noted the following :—Upper part of female figure from Eleuthera in Crete, W. Lermann, *Altgriechische Plastik*, Munich, 1907, p. 25, Fig. 6; also *poros* statue in the sanctuary of the Boeotian Apollo Ptoös, *op. cit.*, p. 47, note 1; also cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, viii. p. 511, Fig. 262.

[4] J. D. Beazley, *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems*, Nos. 20, 32, 33. I am ndebted to Prof. Beazley for permission to reproduce the imprints of the gems, which are enlarged to two diameters.

[5] Found in Cyprus and Caria respectively.

indicates that some biggish object was at one time attached there. Furthermore, it should be noted that the back of the figure between the wings has not been worked back by the sculptor to its proper level, precisely because the large protruding wings made the carving difficult. In exactly the same manner the abdomen has not been worked back quite to the level of the lower ribs because both hands held large protruding objects which overshadowed the abdomen.

Eros, in fact, probably held a cock in either hand (see Fig. 4, *a*, *b*,) and the tail feathers of the birds are still visible meeting over the youthful god's solar plexus.

II.—*Eros and Cocks.*

The type of Eros with one or two fowls is a familiar one in ancient

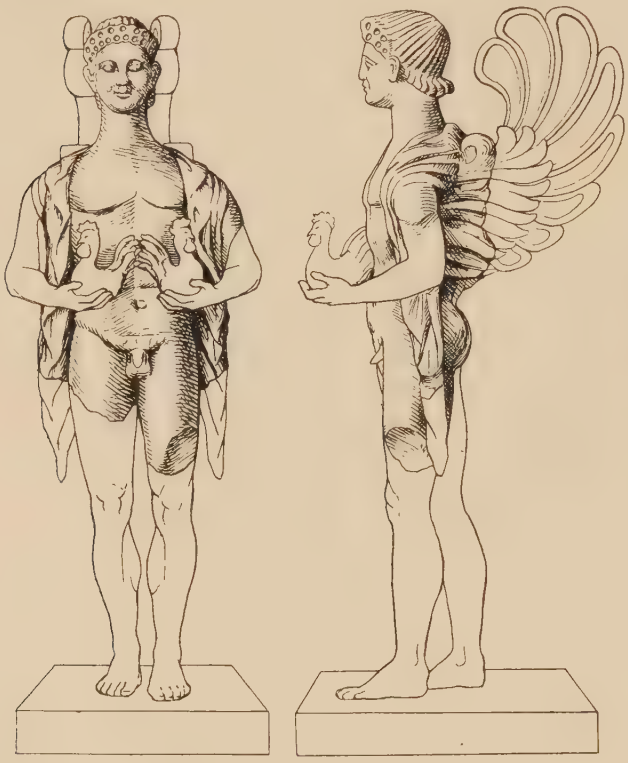
FIG. 3.—DESIGN FROM A CLAZOMENAEAN SARCOPHAGUS.

art. On an archaic sarcophagus from Clazomenae, now in the British Museum,[1] there appears a youthful figure, wingless but none the less probably Eros, the type of the soul, holding in either hand a hen. A bitch springs up on each side of him, and the group is flanked by a pair of gigantic cocks, behind each of which was a smaller bird (Fig. 3). At a much later period the chair of State, set apart in the Dionysiac theatre at Athens for the priest of Dionysus himself, was decorated on either side with a bas-relief of Eros winged with a pair of fighting-cocks.[2] But the type most closely akin to the

[1] Fig. 3 is reproduced from a paper by P. Perdrizet in *Rev. d'Études Anciennes*, 1904, vi. p. 14, Fig. 2.

[2] Beulé in *Rev. Arch.*, 1862, p. 349, and Pl. XX. This has been brought into relation with the story of Aelian, ii. 28, concerning Themistocles and the fighting-cocks; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclop.* vii. 2210, 54.

little *poros* stone figure (Pl. XIII, and Fig. 4, *a*, *b*) is that of a very large number of terracotta statuettes, votive offerings of which many hundreds were unearthed in the Kabeirion near Thebes. One of the best preserved specimens, of fifth-century date, is here depicted (Fig. 5).[1] This youthful figure wears a chlamys of the same type as that worn by the little Athenian



4*a* 4*b*

FIG. 4, *a*, *b*.—SUGGESTED RESTORATION OF EROS (Pl. XIII).

FIG. 5.—TERRACOTTA FROM KABEIRION, THEBES.

god (Fig. 4, *a*) and holds in his left hand a cock, while his right hangs at his side. Though he is wingless he may possibly be regarded as the Kabeiric Eros himself rather than a mere youthful votary; or, if he is to be thought of as the latter, he may be the votary assimilated to the god.

[1] Reproduced from *Die antiken Terracotten*, iii. 2, F. Winter, *Typen d. Figurlichen Terrakotten*, i. p. 182 (3).

It is in the Theban Kabeiric sanctuary that these terracottas have been found in their hundreds, and it was precisely in this sanctuary that a form of Eros, a wingless form, moreover,[1] may have enjoyed a special cult as one of the three *Megaloi Theoi*, the great Kabeiric deities. Eros, 'the boy,'[2] in his Kabeiric form, is, A. B. Cook has maintained, the son of Axiokersos (he that cleaves with the axe) and Axiokersa (she that is cleft with the axe), and himself bears the name Axieros, the Axe-Eros or Axe-spirit,[3] and is 'an emanation or rebirth' of his father, 'the form taken by the soul of the (original Thraco-Phrygian) sky-god on the occasion of his rebirth; for the art-type of Eros is the art-type of souls in general.'[4]

The question arises whether Eros, conceived of in prehistoric myth as the soul of the father-god, was not once conceived of as the son of another primitive axe-god, Hephaistos.[5] It is at any rate worth noting that Servius (*Aen.* 1, 664) and Nonnus (29, 334) have preserved a tradition that Hephaistos was the father of Eros. Writers of so late a date would scarcely be worth a moment's thought were it not for the fact that Hephaistos was intimately associated with Athena upon the Acropolis,[6] and that traces appear of a cult of Eros on Athena's citadel.

Athena herself, there can be little doubt, was a deity of Mycenaean and indeed of Minoan origin, concerning whom M. P. Nilsson[7] has collected matter of no small value. In common with the pre-Hellenic goddess of the hearth and home, Athena shared the snake, the shield, the

[1] Cf. Eros as a wingless boy on the fragment of a cup from this same Theban Kabeirion in Roscher's *Lex*, ii. 2, p. 2538, Fig. 3.

[2] On the sherd he stands in front of his father, who is called ΚΑΒΙΡΟΣ, and is himself labelled as ΠΑΙΣ.

[3] A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. p. 314 f.

[4] *Op. cit.*, 315, note 3.

[5] Hephaistos is, like Athena, a deity of prehistoric date. He is constantly depicted with the double-axe, especially on representations of the birth of Athena, having employed that weapon to split open the head of Zeus.

[6] The unseemly tale preserved by Apollodorus, 3, 14, 6, concerning these deities points to the conclusion that Athena was not always the Parthenos, but originally the mate of Hephaistos and mother of Erichthonios. When the Greeks, still at an early date, lost touch with the primitive notion that virginity can be magically renewed, that the same goddess can be both mother and virgin (cf. Paus. ii. 38, 2), this curious tale must have been invented to account for the affiliation of Erichthonios to Athena. On the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon the pair (viz.: Hephaistos and Athena) sit side by side balancing the other divine pair, Zeus and Hera. Cf. Roscher's *Lex.* i. 2, 2063.

[7] *Die Anfänge der Göttin Athene*, Copenhagen, 1921. I am indebted to Mr. A. D. Nock for bringing this important paper to my notice. See also M. P. Nilsson, *Hist. of Greek Relig.*, Oxford, 1925, p. 26 f.

sacred bird and the pillar.[1] Hephaistos, wielder of the double-axe, was once her mate in Athens, even as a Minoan axe-god seems possibly to have been the mate of the Minoan goddess.[2] It is just conceivable that the pair were at one time thought to have produced an Eros-like being, an emanation who was afterwards effaced by the more solid Erichthonios, the 'very earthy one.'[3]

Hephaistos was worshipped in the Erichtheion, and within the very

[1] Nilsson has not mentioned the pillar-cult. It may, however, be surmised that the pillar which stood beside the Chryselephantine Athena of Pheidias was more than a mere support for the hand which held the golden Niké. How otherwise are we to account for its curious shape as preserved on the Varvakeion replica of the Parthenos? See Miss F. M. Bennett in *A.J.A.*, 1909, xiii. 431–446. Diodorus, v. 72, 3, had recorded the tradition that Athena was born in Crete.

[2] The connection with the axe-god is not referred to in Nilsson's paper or book.

[3] It would take too long to digress into the ramifications of the prehistoric Cretan cult. I can do no more than suggest a scheme which may account for much in the classical worship of various goddesses.

CRETE (from Neolithic age onwards).
(A) THE GREAT MOTHER = 'the Earth,'
Maid, Wife, Widow.

As civilisation grows she is worshipped under five aspects

AT HOME			OUT OF DOORS	
by men	by women		by tillers of soil	by hunters and fishers
(A ii) Snake goddess of the home and of war	(A iii) the old Cretan Eileithyia	(A i) The Queen Europa = Io = Hera (*ἱερὸς γάμος* at Knossos)	(A iv) the corn-mother	(A v) Britomartis-Diktynna
Athena	Eileithyia	Hera (Paus. viii. 22, 2, maid, wife and widow)	Demeter	Artemis (*πότνια θηρῶν*)

A i, ii, iii, iv, v are only later versions of the original A. Evidence concerning A ii has been cited by M. P. Nilsson, *loc. cit.* The last line of the scheme gives the classical equivalent goddesses, whose myths, attributes and qualities, derived as they were originally from A, tended to get mixed. Thus Athena was both wife and maid; Demeter was mother and mourner (if not widow); besides Eileithyia, we find Hera Eileithyia, Demeter Eileithyia and Artemis Eileithyia. All this seems to have little to do with Eros, but a point worth noting is the following: Pausanias (ix. 27, 2), when writing of the *oldest* cult-centre of Eros, Thespiae, mentions that 'Olen the Lycian, author of the oldest Greek hymns, says in his hymn to Eileithyia that she is mother of Eros.' Now if Eileithyia (A iii above) is but a form of the original A, then Eros was the product of A, and we come back to the Hesiodic concept of Chaos—Earth (= A)—Eros as the three first primaeval forces (cf. p. 88 above). If Athena (A ii above) was also a version of A, Eros may have been connected with her likewise.

In the Hellenistic age even Aphrodite and Athena could be merged. Cf. Athena in the guise of Aphrodite, Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, Pl. XXXIX. 29 (Augustan) and Pl. LXV. 24 (first century A.D.); G. Lippold, *Gemmen u. Kameen*, Stuttgart, *s. a.* Pl. XXI. 6 and 9. This, however, is mere syncretism.

portico of that temple Beulé found a pedestal decorated with Erotes,[1] and on a fine red-figure stamnos in Munich (Fig. 6) [2] Erotes appear in close association with Athena's citadel. The scene upon this vase depicts the birth upon the Acropolis of Erichthonios, whom Gaia hands to Athena in the presence of Hephaistos.[3] The group is flanked by two Erotes, or by Eros and his twin, or doublet, Himeros.[4] The existence of an actual statue of Eros upon the Athenian citadel [5] may perhaps be inferred from

FIG. 6.—BIRTH OF ERICHTHONIOS ON R.F. STAMNOS.

the tale of Suidas, of which more below—an Eros, if such he was, holding in his arms a pair of cocks.

The cock, indeed, would seem to form another possible bond between the Parthenos and the youthful god of love, for that bird was sacred to

[1] Beulé, *L'Acrop. d'Ath.*, ii. p. 303.

[2] Furtwängler-Reichhold, Pl. CXXXVII; Lenormant et De Witte, *Élite des mon. céram.*, lxxxiv. 2; *Mon. d. Inst.* i. Pl. X.

[3] Cf. Apollod. 3. 14. 6.

[4] Or possibly Anteros, another form of the god, concerning whom more below. Himeros, Anteros and Pothos are only variants, which owe their origin to poetic diction and to the artist's love of multiplication of a type which appealed to him.

[5] Concerning the association of Athena and Eros on the outskirts of the city, cf. Athenaeus, xiii. 561*d*. 'The Athenians were so far from thinking that Eros presided over the mere gratification of sensual appetites, that, though the Academy was manifestly consecrated to Athena, they yet erected in that place a statue of Eros and sacrificed to him.' But cf. Section III below.

both deities. Though in classical times the owl, owing to Athenian influence, was the bird *par excellence* of Athena, in states other than Attica other birds were associated with her. Pausanias (i. 41. 6) records the cult at Megara of "Diver-bird Athena," while at Korone (vi. 34. 6) and at Titane [1] the crow was sacred to her, and on the head of her chryselephantine statue in the city of Elis was perched not an owl, but a cock (vi. 26. 3). This association of birds with the goddess may well be part of her Minoan heritage, since the aniconic pillar-form of the deity has frequently a bird perched upon it, and the iconic image is known with a bird on its head,[2] the bird-sanctified column having become a bird goddess.[3]

FIG. 7.—COCK ON MINOAN SEALSTONE.

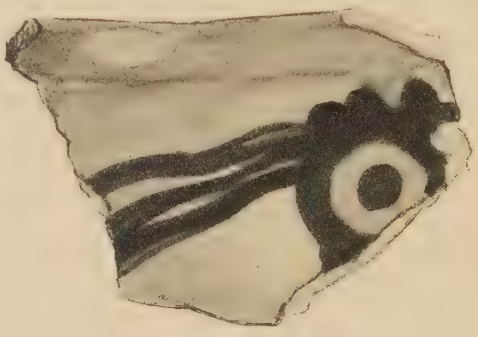


FIG. 8.—HEAD OF COCK ON SHERD FROM MYCENAE.

It has not infrequently been claimed that the cock was first introduced to the Greeks under the wing, as it were, of the Persian Empire,[4] because the Old Comedy of the fifth century called it 'The Persian (or Median) bird.' [5] The monuments, however, have a different tale to tell. If the Minoans did not rear poultry, they seem at least to have been acquainted with the cock's appearance, for a Minoan steatite sealstone, published by Sir Arthur Evans,[6] is engraved with a rough picture of the bird (Fig. 7). In the Peloponnese it was perhaps familiar in the fifteenth

[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *Comment. on Paus.*, iii. p. 72.

[2] Sir A. Evans in *B.S.A.* viii. p. 99, Fig. 56.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 100.

[4] Thus E. Baethgen, *De vi ac significatione galli in religionibus et artibus Graecorum et Romanorum*, Göttingen, 1887.

[5] *E.g.* Aristoph. *Aves*, 276, 483, 707, 883.

[6] *J.H.S.* xiv. 1894, p. 342, Fig. 65*a*. O. Keller, *Die Antike Tierwelt*, 1913, ii. p. 131, accepts its identification as a cock.

century B.C.,[1] the head of what appears to be a cock being depicted on a sherd (Fig. 8)[2] of Ephyraean ware (late Helladic II) found at Mycenae. The next link in the chain of evidence is supplied by bronze earrings of geometric style found at Olympia,[3] and then the monuments become more plentiful. Noteworthy are two proto-attic vases of seventh-century date, a jug of Phaleron ware[4] and an amphora,[5] both vases of a funerary character. On each of these the neck of the vessel is decorated with an imposing cock.

The sixth century supplies abundant monuments of a funerary type on which the bird figures, among the best known examples being the Harpy Tomb from Xanthos,[6] the Laconian funeral stelai from Chrysapha,[7] on both of which cocks are offered to the deceased, and the stele of Antiphanes[8] in the Athenian National Museum, the sole decoration of which is a cock.

But enough evidence has been adduced to show that the cock was familiar in Greece at a very early date. The questions that still call for answers are, Why was the bird associated occasionally with Athena, and why was it so frequently the companion of Eros?

Athena, that primitive goddess of the home and the hearth, was naturally also their defender, and the defender first and foremost of the house and hearth of the king.[9] Thus it was that she became the Goddess of War, thus her double character was simply evolved, and she was Ergané of the spindle and the homely olive, Promachos of the shield and flashing spear. The bird, which perched upon her pillar or her head in her Minoan phase, was sundered in later times into various species, and Athena Polias or Ergané adopted the owl, while Athena Promachos

[1] About the same time the cock first got to China according to Orth in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* viii. 2521, 18; Professor H. A. Giles, however, informs me that in Chinese literature the cock is only mentioned in a work edited *ca.* A.D. 300, but attributed, without verification, to the twelfth cent. B.C.

[2] This important sherd, found at Mycenae by Mr. H. Collingham in 1920, is now in the Nauplia Museum. I am indebted to Mr. A. J. B. Wace, who has most kindly supplied me with a drawing, for permission to publish this fragment. It was found in a trial-pit sunk between the Lion gate and the 'tomb of Clytemnaestra.'

[3] A. Furtwängler, *Die Bronzen von Olympia*, Pl. XIII. 212; Pl. XIV. 420.

[4] P. Perdrizet in *Rev. des Études Anciennes*, 1904, vi. p. 15, Fig. 3.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 16, Fig. 4.

[6] Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, viii. p. 335, Fig. 146.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 439, Fig. 215.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 661, Fig. 339.

[9] In the Homeric age Athena is always first of the gods to defend kings and princes.

probably at a fairly early date claimed as her own that homely yet most warlike of birds, the cock. It was, in fact, an aftermath of the Minoan cult of the bird-sanctified column and the bird-surmounted goddess which produced the Athena of Elis with a cock upon her head, as well as the twin columns, each surmounted by a cock, which flank the figure of the Promachos on all the older Panathenaic vases.[1]

The association of Eros and the cock seems not to have been quite so simple. At a first glance it might seem natural that the most erotic of birds should be appropriated by the God of Love, and such an idea was probably agreeable to the symbolism of the fifth and subsequent centuries. It fails, however, to fit in with the earlier concepts of Eros according to which the god was rather the soul[2] of the creating being, Desire or Longing issuing forth as an *Eidōlon*, often winged. So too there had existed a very ancient belief in the soul ' as a little winged form sent forth ' from the mortal lover ' to compass his desires.'[3] For that reason, it seems, Eros was the soul, and Eros with crossed legs and torch reversed became the commonest of all symbols for death,[4] because a resting Eros means a restful soul.

Once it is realised that Eros, before ever the butterfly-winged Psyché was thought of, was himself the type of the soul, the association between the winged god and the cock takes on a clearer meaning, for that bird was most particularly the bird of departed souls, as is clear from the seventh- and sixth-century monuments. The Lycian tomb and the Spartan stelai have already been cited as depicting the offering of cocks by the living to the dead,[5] while in Attica the cocks on funeral vases find their natural descendants in such birds as that on the stele of Antiphanes,[6] and the Clazomenaean sarcophagus (Fig. 3) has upon the upper

[1] G. von Branchitsch, *Die Panathen. Preisamphoren*, 1910, p. 106, would explain the presence of the cocks as a reference to the agonistic character of the vases, the cocks being specially pugnacious birds, and the Athenian youths particularly attached to cock-fighting. This, however, begs the question of the cocks' presence on the tops of *columns*. Moreover, cock-fighting seems not to have been a common sport before the fifth century, the youths of the previous century having apparently a predilection for cat and dog fights (cf. the relief from wall of Themistocles *J.H.S.* xlii., 1922, Pl. VI, but the columns on Panathenaic vases were not surmounted by dogs and cats.

[2] Cf. p. 88, above. [3] A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. p. 1045. [4] *Loc. cit.*

[5] Note also that Asklepios, originally the buried king of Trikka (*op. cit.*, p. 1088), had the cock as his appropriate sacrifice.

[6] Cf. P. Perdrizet, *Rev. des Études Anciennes*, 1904, vi. p. 16 f. E. Baethgen, *de vi ac signif. galli*, etc., 1887, discourses also on the use of the cock in the cult of the dead. Its continued employment in such cult is evidenced by an inscription of imperial date published by H. A. Ormerod and E. S. G. Robinson, *J.H.S.*, xxxiv, p. 5, 10.

end, above the place where the head of the corpse would rest, the picture of a wingless *eidōlon*, or Eros, perhaps symbolising the soul of the departed himself, standing in a veritable poultry-yard.

Another being associated with the soul in early art, more even than in early literature, is the Siren or Harpy, which is sometimes a benevolent, but more often a baneful creature. Into the various superstitions and beliefs relating to Sirens [1] there is no need for us to inquire in this connection, but it is worth noting that benevolent Sirens alternate with Erotes in a scene depicting a Symposium of the Dead in Elysium painted on a cup of Laconian ware,[2] while on a Corinthian vase [3] there is a frieze in which a cock seems about to engage in combat with a Siren, this time evidently one of the baneful breed. The cock, it would seem, by his appearance and his voice,[4] was best calculated to frighten away evil spirits which might molest the soul. Hence his constant appearance on funeral monuments and in the cult of the dead.[5] He was *alektōr*,[6] the warder off of ghosts, the ideal guardian of the soul, the favoured pet of the soul-god Eros.

III. *Meles and Timagoras.*

Pausanias begins the thirtieth chapter of his book on Attica, with the following words :—

'Before the entrance to the Academy is an altar of Eros, with an inscription stating that Charmos was the first Athenian to dedicate an altar to Eros. The altar in the City called the altar of Anteros (Love Returned) is said to have been dedicated by the foreign residents, because Meles, an Athenian, scorning a foreign resident Timagoras, who loved him, bade him go up to the top of the Rock and throw himself down. Timagoras, reckless of his life, and wishing to gratify the lad in everything, went and threw himself down. But when Meles saw Timagoras dead, he was seized with such remorse that he leaped from the same rock

[1] Cf. the admirable article in Roscher, *Lex.* iv., *s.v. Seirenen.*

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 611, Fig. 4.

[3] *Id.*, p. 630, Fig. 23.

[4] Even the lion was seriously thought to be terrified of the chanticleer : Lucretius, *de Rerum Nat.*, iv. 714.

[5] He is sacred too to the Chthonian gods; cf. the terracotta relief from Western Locri (L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Grk. States*, iii, p. 222, Pl. V) where Persephone, seated beside Hades, holds a cock.

[6] ἀλέκτωρ can hardly be otherwise satisfactorily explained than as a noun formed from ἀλέξω.

and perished. From that time the foreign residents have worshipped a *daimon* Anteros, the avenger of Timagoras.'

Suidas,[1] ever prone to obscurity and confusion, perverts this tale. In the first place Meles appears as Meletos—a genitive for a nominative; secondly, the rôles of the two characters in the story are reversed. But the lexicographer supplements the traveller with one piece of information, for he tells that the youth, filled with remorse, took in his arms two birds—presents which the *metoikos* had given him—ran in the other's track as though drawn by some strange force, and hurled himself from the Acropolis; and people set up, says Suidas, on that very place a statue in memory of the tragedy, a comely boy, naked and holding two pedigree (*μάλα εὐγενεῖς*) cocks in his arms, on the point of throwing himself headlong to destruction.

A foolish tale it is, impregnated with the romanticism of a late age and embroidered by the pedagogic Suidas, but nevertheless a tale which may have had some foundation. From the versions of Pausanias and of Suidas it is possible to extract the following facts :—

Between 546 and 510 B.C.[2] an Athenian noble, Charmos, father-in-law of the tyrant Hippias,[3] erected an altar to Eros at the entrance of the Academy with a statue [4] and an inscription running,

> Love, wayward and shifty, to thee this altar
> Charmos set up, close by the playground's shady bounds.[5]

Timagoras, a foreign resident of Athens, enamoured of an Athenian youth Meles and repulsed by him, committed suicide by hurling himself from the Acropolis. Meles in remorse leapt, so the story ran, from the same rock.

There was an altar to Anteros which the *metoikoi* of Athens are said to have set up on the site of the tragedy. There was also a statue on the Acropolis itself representing a handsome boy holding a pair of cocks in his arms.

Now while Timagoras and Meles may have been the actors in a tragedy

[1] *S.v.* Μέλητος.

[2] These are the dates of Peisistratos' return from Paeonia and of Hippias' expulsion. See my *Athens, its History and Coinage*, Cambridge, 1924, p. 43, note 4, and F. E. Adcock. *Class. Quart.*, 1924, xviii. p. 174 ff.

[3] Cleidemus, or Clitodemus, *F.H.G.* i. p. 364, 20, quoted by Athenaeus, xiii. 609*d*.

[4] Athenaeus, *loc. cit.*

[5] Ποικιλομήχαν' Ἔρως, σοὶ τόνδ' ἱδρύσατο βωμὸν
Χάρμος ἐπὶ σκιεροῖς τέρμασι γυμνασίου.

which really occurred, it does not follow that the altar and the statue were actually set up in consequence of the event, for the mere love of a romance may have led a later age to connect older cult objects with a celebrated *histoire scandaleuse*. Assuming, then, that Timagoras and Meles were actual personages, it would seem at first sight that no definite date can be assigned to them, for neither Pausanias nor Suidas indicate a period for the episode.[1] In actual fact we can, however, assign a date with considerable accuracy to Timagoras, a foreign resident in Athens, a potter, who is with some probability to be identified with Timagoras the suicide.[2] Timagoras the potter was a contemporary of the potter Exekias whose pupil and younger contemporary was Andokides; and Timagoras was also intimate with the youthful Andokides, not as his master but as his admirer, for there is in the Louvre a hydria, made by Timagoras, depicting Herakles wrestling with Triton[3] and bearing the legend ΤΙΜΑΛΟΡΑ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ [Α]ΝΔΟΚΙΔΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΔΟΚΕΙ ΤΙΜΑ[Λ]ΟΡΑΙ, 'Timagoras made this. Andokides is admired by Timagoras.' Thus, since he is the contemporary of Exekias, Timagoras' *floruit* may be placed between 550 and 520 B.C.

The potter, it would seem, affected the vices which were fashionable in the tyrant's court,[4] and it is possible to conceive of him as first the admirer of the youthful Andokides,[5] perhaps another *metoikos*, and later, as he rose in the social scale, seeking the favour of Meles, a young Athenian noble, at whose behest he met his end.

The tragic death of so prominent and prosperous a tradesman, and the sequel of the favourite's suicide, so greatly impressed the Athenian imagination that it became for all time one of the stock stories concerning the Acropolis.

With the passage of time the tale would most naturally become

[1] Pausanias, however, mentions in the preceding sentence Charmos, a notable of the sixth century.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. A. B. Cook for pointing out to me that the suicide and the potter are probably one and the same person.

[3] Louvre, No. F 38. J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook Grk. B.F. Vases*, p. 358. Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, x. p. 200, Fig. 129.

[4] Cf. Thuc. vi. 54.

[5] It is worth mentioning that the potter Andokides employed to decorate his wares a certain painter whom J. D. Beazley, *Attic R.F. Vases in American Museums*, Harvard, 1918, p. 3, terms 'the Andokides painter.' This painter had a pupil, Oltos by name, who produced one of the earliest Erotes to appear on an R.F. vase (*loc. cit.* p. 7, Fig. 2). This figure bears comparison with the engraved gems in our Fig. 2 above.

linked with the altar of Anteros and the statue of the naked boy holding the pair of cocks, especially since the latter must have represented, not Meles as Suidas would suggest, but Eros.[1]

IV.

The evidence for the early cult of Eros in Athens may now be summarised as follows : —

The cock, known in Greece from the fifteenth century B.C., was sometimes associated with the Minoan goddess who became Athena, for example at Elis, and on the Acropolis, inasmuch as the bird figured on early Panathenaic vases.

The cock was constantly associated with the cult of the dead; it frightened away harmful spirits, it was the most appropriate gift to the soul.

The art type of Eros is the art type of the soul, therefore the cock is appropriate to Eros.

In Athens there was a cult of Eros in the Academy, sacred to Athena, a cult which may have been no earlier than the reign of Hippias.

But there was apparently an older cult of the god on the Acropolis, in evidence of which there is—

i. The pedestal with Erotes from the Erechtheion.

ii. The vase with the birth of Erichthonios showing Eros and his twin present.

iii. The archaic plaque with Aphrodite, Eros and Himeros.

iv. The tale of Timagoras and Meles.

v. The *poros* stone statuette of Eros holding two cocks.

This last and certain details of the tale point to the existence of a larger statue[2] of a boy Eros holding a pair of fowls. The date of our figure is approximately the same as the *floruit* of the potter Timagoras,

[1] This is by no means the sole instance of a misnomer applied in ancient times to a work of art. J. Carcopino, in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, 1923, p. 289 ff., has collected not a few examples of statues and pictures misnamed and misunderstood by Greeks as well as by Romans. One Athenian example may suffice. Protogenes of Kaunos painted in the Propylaea a fresco in which were allegorical female figures representing the State triremes Paralos and Hammonias; the latter, however, Pliny informs us (xxxv. 101), was misinterpreted and called Nausicaa.

[2] There may have been such a statue before the Persian occupation of Athens, replaced later by another which was seen by the authority whom Suidas quoted.

and it may have been a small votive figure offered to the soul-god with the two 'pedigree' cocks.

From the age of Hippias onward Eros became more and more the Doric *Mellephebos*-god of the palaistra, to whom the bird was then sacred as the God of Sport when the fifth century developed a craze for the cock-pit. The Hellenistic Eros, however, tended to revert to the child type once more, as elsewhere so in Athens.

C. T. SELTMAN.

A SURVEY OF LACONIAN EPIGRAPHY, 1913–1925.

The year 1913 witnessed the publication, under the auspices of the Prussian Academy, of the *Corpus* of Laconian and Messenian inscriptions (*I.G.* v. 1), edited (after part of the preliminary preparation had been carried out by M. Fraenkel and H. von Prott) by Walther Kolbe, at that time Professor of Ancient History in the University of Rostock. This event marked the beginning of a new epoch in the study of Laconian inscriptions, for the volume in question, thanks to its authoritative character and to the skill and devotion of its successive editors, naturally serves as the almost unquestioned basis of all further investigation. Its completeness and its correctness are accepted as axiomatic. It seems worth while, therefore, at a time when the British School is renewing its campaigns of excavation at Sparta with every hope and prospect of important epigraphical results, to make an attempt to strengthen this foundation, in however slight a degree, (1) by presenting a brief account of the Laconian inscriptions omitted from *I.G.* v. 1 or published in the twelve years which have elapsed since its issue, and (2) by making certain additions to the bibliographies of the inscriptions which it contains.[1] With the Messenian section of the volume I shall not here deal.

[1] In this article references to *I.G.* v. 1 are indicated by Clarendon type (*e.g.* **1114**). For economy of space I employ the following abbreviations in addition to those in current use :

Allen	= F. D. Allen, *Papers of the American School at Athens*, iv, Boston, 1888.
David	= E. David, *Dialecti Laconicae monumenta epigr.*, Königsberg, 1882.
Geffcken	= J. Geffcken, *Griechische Epigramme*, Heidelberg, 1916.
Heikel	= I. A. Heikel, *Griech. Inschriften sprachlich erklärt*, Helsingfors, 1924.
E. Hoffmann	= E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigrammatum Graecorum*, Halle, 1893.
O. Hoffmann	= *S.G.D.I.* iv. pp. 678–753, Göttingen, 1911.
Müll.	= P. Müllensiefen, *De titulorum Lacon. dialecto*, Strasburg, 1882.
Schwyzer	= E. Schwyzer, *Dialectorum Graec. exempla epigr.*, Leipzig, 1923.
S.E.G.	= *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leyden, 1923 ff.
S.I.G.	= W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Leipzig, 2nd ed. 1898–1901, 3rd ed. 1915–24.
Wide	= S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, Leipzig, 1893.
Ziebarth	= E. Ziebarth in *Bursians Jahresbericht*, clxxxiv. 91 ff.

I. LACONIAN INSCRIPTIONS OMITTED FROM *I.G.* V. 1.

The inscriptions which eluded the close scrutiny of Kolbe and his predecessors are, it need hardly be said, very few indeed. There is the doubtful case of a dedicatory text, Λάκος ἀνέθεκε Ηέρᾳ, on a bronze cow acquired in 1909 by the British Museum (*B.M. Inscr.* 948; cf. *Arch. Anz.* xxv. 506) and assigned by its editor, F. H. Marshall, to Laconia or Argos. It is true, as Marshall points out, that the dedication to Hera favours an Argive origin, but, on the other hand, Hera was also worshipped at Sparta (Wide, 24 ff.) and at Geronthrae (**1114**. 19), and the form of λ here used (Λ) is not that which is found in the early inscriptions of the western Argolid (Ɬ).

E. Preuner has called attention (*Ath. Mitt.* xlvi. 3) to a fragmentary epigram from Gythium published in 1870 by A. Petrides (Παν δώρα, xxi. 492. 282), and W. Croenert has essayed its restoration (*S.E.G.* i. 91). It has also been pointed out that four inscriptions of the Cynuria published by K. A. Romaios in Ἀθηνᾶ, xviii. 438 ff., should be included in *I.G.* v. 1, viz. an epitaph and a fragment of the grave-curses of Herodes Atticus from the Monastery of Loukou, a late epitaph from the Prodromos Monastery and a commemorative inscription from the Monastery of the Palaiopanagia (Ziebarth, 119). In order to complete the collection of the inscriptions of this border-district, it would further be necessary to include the three texts from Loukou which Fraenkel inserted in the Argolic *Corpus* (*I.G.* iv. 676–8).

II. LACONIAN INSCRIPTIONS PUBLISHED BETWEEN 1913 AND 1925.

In Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1919, 32 ff., A. N. Skias discussed ten short texts (of which the first had been previously published by Φρ. Βερσάκης in Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1912, 188) discovered during E. R. Fiechter's excavation at the Amyclaeum. These have been republished in *S.E.G.* i. 81–90, three of them with tentative restorations by W. Croenert (Nos. 87–89; cf. p. 137). Far more important is the contribution to Laconian epigraphy made by J. J. E. Hondius and A. M. Woodward in an article (*B.S.A.* xxiv. 88–143) of which, as it occurs in this periodical, I need not speak in further detail. I have briefly indicated its contents in *J.H.S.* xlv. 113, and the texts appear, some of them with brief notes, in *S.E.G.* ii. 59–179; one of the most interesting, an archaic epigram, has been restored by F. Hiller von Gaertringen (*Phil. Woch.* xliii. 1002, *S.E.G.* ii. 170). In Ἀντίδωρον:

Festschrift J. Wackernagel gewidmet (Göttingen, 1923), 154 f., F. Bechtel discusses six names found in these inscriptions, viz. Θιοκορμίδας (No. 3), Τροῦθος (7), Χισιμίδας (9), Σδιχις (11), Ἀχραδαῖος (26) and Ϝειράνα (66). Three dedications are reproduced in facsimile and others are referred to in A. M. Woodward's report 'Excavations at Sparta, 1924,' circulated by the British School to subscribers to the Excavation Fund: these and the other epigraphical spoils of the campaign will appear in due course in the *Annual*.

Finally, in a letter dated 28th December, 1906, Mr. A. J. B. Wace wrote to me: 'Here is a new inscription from Geraki (Geronthrae)—complete. Letters ·07 m. high. In a ruined church to E. of Acropolis, in fields. ΘΙΟΙ.' This has not, so far as I know, been published hitherto.

III. Addenda to *I.G.* v. 1.

In this section I make some additions to the bibliographies of inscriptions contained in the *Corpus*. In the interest of brevity I follow Kolbe in giving no references to the first two editions of Roehl's *Imagines* or to the first editions of Dittenberger's *Sylloge* and Cauer's *Delectus* in the case of inscriptions published in later editions of those works. I am not sure, however, that such omissions are justifiable, since there are libraries which do not yet possess the later editions. I put within brackets references to works published before 1913: all others are subsequent to the appearance of *I.G.* v. 1. Mere typographical errors, which are unlikely to cause confusion, I do not note; they are, moreover, commendably few.

1. [David, 24*a*, *b*. Cf. O. Hoffmann, 679; A. Wilhelm, *Zts. öst. Gymn.* lxii. 1029.] *S.I.G.*[3] 84; E. Nachmanson, *Hist. Gr. Inschr.* 56; Schwyzer, 13. Cf. M. Cary, *J.H.S.* xlv. 245, note 9.

4. [Cf. H. Swoboda, *Gr. Volksbeschlüsse*, 108, 141.] Schwyzer, 22.

7. Cf. Ziebarth, 120.

11. See *I.G.* v. 1, p. xxiv.

18–20. Cf. E. Ziebarth, *Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen*,[2] 66.

18. B. Laum, *Stiftungen*, ii. 14, No. 10. In *A*4 the copy follows *B.S.A.* xii. 446, but the transcription gives Woodward's corrected reading (*B.S.A.* xv. 101). For *B* 13 cf. E. Ziebarth, *Z. f. N.* xxxiv. 50.

26. *S.I.G.*[3] 932; Schwyzer, 23.

27. Cf. M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.* xxxiv. 60.

29. *S.I.G.*[3] 669.

30. In l. 3 I think we must read [ὁ *κατεσταμένο*]ς ὁ τὸ *πέμπτον*, assuming that the word *συνέδρων* in l. 2 was left incomplete. Wilamowitz's view, 'articulus ferri nequit,' is disproved by the passages cited in *S.E.G.* ii. 53.

69. [The lines from 29 onwards are wrongly numbered.] For l. 33 cf. M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.* xxxiv. 61.

71. [In col. iii. l. 14 read Πό(*πλιος*).] For col. iii. l. 37 cf. M. N. Tod, *loc. cit.*

92. I do not know why only 'five or four names' are said to be lost before l. 1.

114. Cf. E. Preuner, *Rh. Mus.* lxxiii. 275.

124. In l. 17 I find myself unconvinced by the restoration Γ*ραμματε*[*ίτιμος*] and even by Γ*ραμματι*[*κός*], which is substituted for it in the Addenda (p. 301). I still hanker after my *γραμματε*[*ύς*].

133. [Vischer, *Inscr. Spartanae* viii. No. 7.]

144. For Π. read Πο. in *b*, *c*.

152. [*S.G.D.I.* 4488.]

177. Cf. M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.* xxxiv. 61 f.; J. Hondius, *B.S.A.* xxiv. 128; W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne*, li. 296.

208. [Cf. E. Ziebarth, *Gr. Vereinswesen*, 64, No. 19.]

209. Schwyzer 24. On l. 34 cf. G. H. Macurdy, *Class. Rev.* xxxiv. 98 f.

210–212. [Cf. E. Ziebarth, *Gr. Vereinswesen*, 42.] I agree in reading *ἐπὶ γραφῶν* in **210.** 58, **211.** 52, **212.** 59, though I do not understand the office quite as Kolbe. For *γραφαί* cf. W. M. Ramsay, *J.R.S.* xii. 174 f.

210. On l. 55 I noted 'probably two or three letters are lost before *σίν*.' If this is so, we may read [*τὸν*] *σὶν φέρων*, as in **211.** 51.

211. Schwyzer, 25.

212. [The reference to Müll. should be 55*b*.] While examining the stone at Sparta I noted 'I think l. 2 may have read OIEIII.'

213. [C. Bursian, *Leipziger Berichte*, xii. 226 f.; Allen, 193, No. ci.; E. Hoffmann, 374; Solmsen, [1]17, [2]17. Cf. Meister, *Jahrb. f. Philol.* 1882, i. 523; Wide, 174, 257. The reference to Cauer [2] should be 17 (not 27).] Geffcken, 78; Schwyzer, 12; Heikel, 29. In l. 36 *πρατ*[*οπ*]*αίδον* is proposed by C. D. Buck, *Class. Phil.* xx. 139 f.

214. [Müll. 35*c*. Cf. Wide, 4, 7, 243.]

222. Schwyzer, 9.

224. [Cf. O. Hoffmann, 686, No. 22.]

225. [Müll. 3; David, 4.]

226. [David, 15.]

229. Cf. M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.* xxxiv. 62.

231. Geffcken, 21.

232. [Cf. Wide, 310.]

236. [Cf. Wide, 175, 198.] *S.I.G.*^{3} 551.

238. [Müll. 12; Allen, 172, note 1.]

248, 249. [Cf. *Guide to the Select Greek and Latin Inscr.* (Brit. Mus.) 70, 71.]

252–356. [Cf. O. Hoffmann, 682 ff.; M. P. Nilsson, *Klio*, xii. 308 ff.]

252. Hondius-Woodward, *B.S.A.* xxiv. 89, No. 1; Schwyzer, 4.

252*a*. Hondius-Woodward, *B.S.A.* xxiv. 102, No. 23; Schwyzer, 5_1.

252*b*. Hondius-Woodward, *B.S.A.* xxiv. 103, No. 25; Schwyzer, 5_2.

255, 256. Schwyzer, 16, 26.

257. [*Bull. École Fr. d'Athènes*, iii. 57. Cf. Wide, 100.]

264, 279. Schwyzer, 27, 28.

282. [Cf. O. Hoffmann, 680.]

286, 289. Schwyzer, 29, 31.

301. [Cf. O. Hoffmann, 680.] Schwyzer, 32.

305. Schwyzer, 33.

307. Schwyzer, 34; Heikel, 32.

309. [Cf. *Bull. École Fr. d'Athènes*, iii. 57; O. Hoffmann, 680.] Schwyzer, 35.

371. [P. Foucart, *B.C.H.* ii. 515; David, 8. Cf. Wide, 154 f.] Schwyzer, 8. Cf. J. Hondius, *B.S.A.* xxiv. 134.

372. Cf. J. Hondius, *B.S.A.* xxiv. 135.

407. Schwyzer, 30_1.

445. Schwyzer, 30_2.

452. A. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge*, iii. 28 ff., No. 18.

457. [David, 6.] Schwyzer, 2.

463. For l. 4 cf. E. Kjellberg, *Klio*, xvii. 45.

471. [Cf. E. Ziebarth, *Berl. phil. Woch.* xxx. 308.] Cf. Ziebarth, 120.

479. Cf. E. Preuner, *Ath. Mitt.* xlvi. 3.

533. [Dessau, *Inscr. lat. sel.* 8831.]

538. A. Wilhelm, *Sitzber. Berlin*, 1913, 858 ff.

540. Geffcken, 355.

550. Cf. A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*,[4] 66.

553. For ' 512 ' read ' 520.'

554. Line 3 begins with the word Αἰλ(ίου).

560. [Cf. E. Ziebarth, *Berl. phil. Woch.* xxx. 308.] Cf. Ziebarth, 120.

578. [Le Bas, *Inscr. gr. et lat.* Cahier 2, 116.]

584. My copy of the first letter of l. 5 shows clearly Ω.

596. Cf. M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.* xxxiv. 62.

604. My copy of the last letter of l. 3 shows, as does Kolbe's, A. Instead, therefore, of Κλ[*αυδίων*] I should prefer to restore some name like Κ*α*[λλέου] and to suppose that the lady honoured had three sons.

605. [Cf. M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.* xxv. 51, note 27.]

606. [Cf. M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.* xxv. 50, note 25.]

608. [Cf. M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.* xxv. 51, note 29.] Kolbe's copy shows a remarkable intermixture of two forms of sigma, Σ and C : my own copy of the stone shows C everywhere.

649, 653*a*. Schwyzer, 18, 36.

674–688. [Cf. O. Hoffmann, 686.]

675. In l. 2 read ΜΝΑΣΩΝΟΣΣΦΑΙΡΕΙ, Μ*νάσωνος σφαιρεῖ*[*ς*].

683. Cf. M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.* xxxiv. 62 f.

689. [Müll. 39.]

696. Schwyzer, 14.

700. [David 1*a*. Cf. Wide, 17.] Schwyzer, 1; Heikel, 27.

701. [David, 26; Müll. 32 (not 33).] Schwyzer, 17_1.

702. [David, 31; Roberts, *Introduction* on 266.] Schwyzer, 17_3.

703, 704, 707. Schwyzer, 17_4, 17_5, 17_2.

708. *S.I.G.*[3] 1224, Schwyzer, 17_6.

713. [David, 9; Müll. 4. Cf. Wide, 201.] Schwyzer, 3.

720. [David, 3.] Schwyzer, 6.

722. [David, 12.]

724. Geffcken, 193.

749. [W. Vischer, *Kleine Schriften*, ii. 35.]

800. [*S.G.D.I.* 4482.]

808, 809. Cf. P. Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.* xl. 105.

816. Schwyzer, p. 387, No. 1.

817. [Dessau, *Inscr. lat. sel.* 8878. Cf. V. Stais, *Guide illustré du*

Musée National (Athens, 1907), p. 169 f.; P. Kastriotes, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου (Athens, 1908), 223 f., No. 1290.]

821. In l. 5 it looks to me as if we must read [*μα τοῦ*]*τ̣ο.*

828. [Allen 193, No. c.]

850 ff. [Many of these are edited in O. Hoffmann, 686 ff., Nos. 24, 25.]

850. Schwyzer, 21_1.

863. [Cf. Wide, 68.] In the *lemma* of this inscription read '15' for '16.'

864, 866. Schwyzer, 21_2, 21_3.

869. For *κατάλυμα* cf. H. Pomtow, *Klio*, xvi. 123 f.

870. Schwyzer, 21_4.

885. Schwyzer, 20. Cf. G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, iv. 1, 110, note 222.

919. [Cf. Wide, 312.] Geffcken, 69; Schwyzer, 38.

920. [Müll. 10*b*; David, 28*a*; F. Stolz, *Wiener Studien*, viii. 159 ff.; E. W. Fay, *Zts. vergl. Sprachf.* xlii. 86. Cf. P. Kretschmer, *Glotta*, ii. 353]. Schwyzer, 37.

927. [David, 10.] Cf. Ziebarth, 119.

928. [David 19*a*. Cf. Wide, 71.]

929, *930. Cf. Ziebarth, 119.

932. [Cf. Wide, 70.]

937. [Cf. Wide, 312.] Schwyzer, 42.

938. [Cf. Wide, 154.] *S.I.G.*^{3} 948; Schwyzer. 43.

939. [Cf. Wide, 237, 367.]

945. [David, 25; Müll. 23.]

961. [Cf. Wide, 70; O. Hoffmann, 681.]

962. Schwyzer, 44.

967. Cf. J. Hondius, *B.S.A.* xxiv. 140 f.

970. B. Laum, *Stiftungen*, ii. 15, No. 11 (where it is wrongly assigned to Messenian Cyparissia).

972. A copy sent to me by A. J. B. Wace shows that the true reading is Δαμάριν. Cf. **1302, 1304.**

977. Cf. J. Hondius, *B.S.A.* xxiv. 141.

981. Schwyzer, 40_1. Cf. Hondius and Woodward, *B.S.A.* xxiv. 92.

983, 984, 997. Schwyzer, 40_2, 40_3, 41_1.

1014. For 20 read 210.

1018, 1107*a*. Schwyzer, 41_2, 45.

1108. Cf. B. Leonardos, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1923, 50.

1110 ff. Cf. F. Bechtel, *Zeits. vergl. Sprachf.* l. 71.

1111. Schwyzer, 48. L. Robert conjectures in ll. 11, 12 *ἀξίως δὲ τᾶν βι[διᾶν πατρίδων, κ]αὶ κτλ.* (*Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxvii. 180 f.).

1112. [Cf. H. Swoboda, *Gr. Volksbeschlüsse*, 108.]

1114, 1120. Schwyzer, 49, 46.

1124. [David 30*a*.] Schwyzer, 47_1.

1125. [David, 26*a*; Müll. 32*b*.] Schwyzer, 47_2.

1128. Read Ὀνασ[ία] λεχὸι χαῖρε.

1133. [David, 1. Cf. O. Hoffmann, 680 f.]

1134. [David, 16.]

1142. Cf. M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.* xxxiv. 63.

1143 ff. The Latin inscription printed on p. 210 recurs on p. xxi as **1569.** For an honorary inscription of Gythium found at Athens see *I.G.* iii. 668.

1144. [Cf. H. Swoboda, *Gr. Volksbeschlüsse*, 105; Wide, 69; E. Ziebarth, *Hermes*, xxxii. 623.]

1145. [Cf. Wide, 104.]

1146. [Cf. M. Holleaux, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* iii. 115 f.; A. Wilhelm, *Urk. dram. Auff.* 236.]

1152. [Cf. Wide, 172.]

1154. [Patsourakos, 22.] Schwyzer, 50.

1155. [Blouet, *Expéd. scient. de Morée*, iii. 55; David, 14.] Schwyzer, 51. Cf. A. M. Woodward, *B.S.A.* xxiv. 107.

1165. [Michel, 1269; Dessau, *Inscr. lat. sel.* 8766.] *S.I.G.*^{3} 592.

1169. Cf. A. Wilhelm, *Jahresh.* xvii. 47.

1175. Cf. Ziebarth, 120.

1188. O. Fiebiger, *Neue Jahrb.* xxxvii. 295 ff.

1203. Cf. E. Preuner, *Ath. Mitt.* xlvi. 3.

1208. B. Laum, *Stiftungen*, ii. 11, No. 9.

1213. Cf. M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.* xxxiv. 63.

1222. Cf. B. Leonardos, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, ii. *παρ.* 73.

1224, 1225. Cf. P. Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.* xl. 103, 102.

1226 ff. For the visit of Cyriac to Taenarum see P. Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.* xl. 91 ff.

1228. [*Palaeographical Society's Facsimiles*, Pl. 230; Michel, 1074;

H. S. Williams, *Hist. of the Art of Writing*, No. 52.] Schwyzer, 52_1.

1229. [David, 30.]

1230. [*Bull. École Fr. d'Athènes*, iii. 57; David 29*a*.] Schwyzer, 52_2.

1231. [David, 29*c*.] Schwyzer, 52_3.

1232. [David, 29*b*.] Schwyzer, 52_4.

1236. Cf. P. Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.* xl. 102.

1238. [Dessau, *Inscr. lat. sel.* 8804.]

1276. [A. Petriḉes, Βύρων, i. 349; Müll. 45*a*. Cf. Wide, 173.]

1277. [Cf. O. Hoffmann, 681.] In *f* read χαῖρε.

1280. On l. 10 cf. M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.* xxxiv. 63.

1293. Cf. J. Hondius, *B.S.A.* xxiv. 141, note 1.

1307, 1309. Cf. E. Preuner, *Ath. Mitt.* xlvi. 3.

1312. Schwyzer, 53.

1315. [Cf. Wide, 314; E. Ziebarth, *Gr. Vereinswesen*, 65, No. 20; O. Hoffmann, 681.]

1316. Schwyzer, 55.

1317. Schwyzer, 54; Heikel, 31.

1320. Cf. E. Preuner, *Ath. Mitt.* xlvi. 3.

1321. [Cf. O. Hoffmann, 681.]

1329. [David, 31*b*.]

1334*a*. Cf. P. Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.* xl. 101.

1335. Cf. Ziebarth, 119.

1337, 1338. Schwyzer, 56_1, 56_2.

1517 ff. [In references to Πρακτικά read 1911 for 1912: the date of publication was 1912, but the title is Πρακτικὰ τοῦ ἔτους 1911.] Cf. Ziebarth, 118 f.

1517, 1519–1521. Schwyzer, 39_1–39_4.

1561–1568. I do not here deal with these 'tituli alibi inventi,' nor can I fully understand the principle of their selection.

1572. Schwyzer, 5_3.

1587, 1588. A. M. Woodward, *B.S.A.* xxiv. 105 f. 30, 28.

IV. Miscellanea.

A few miscellaneous references may well bring this bibliography to a close. Some remarks and criticisms on the 'Libri et Itinera Recentiorum,' the 'Indices' and the 'Editiones priores potissimae' of *I.G.* v. 1

will be found in Ziebarth, 116 f. As regards this last section, I would simply add that *C.I.G.* 15 = **722,** *C.I.G.* 1466 and 1467 (not 1467 and 1468) should be bracketed, *C.I.G.* 1492 = **791,** Le Bas-Foucart 203*a* = **921.**

Attention may be called to the grammar, vocabulary and proper names of the Laconian dialect-inscriptions in O. Hoffmann, 693 ff. A vigorous, not to say acrid, debate on the character of the neo-Laconian language has been carried on between E. Hermann (*Indog. Forsch.* xxxii. 358 ff., xxxiii. 433 f.) and A. Thumb (*ibid.* xxxiii. 294 ff., 434). The neo-Laconian genitive in *-ηρ* has been discussed by E. Schwyzer in *Mélanges Hatzidakis*, 82 ff. (cf. *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxxiv. 427). The visit of Cyriac of Ancona to Taenarum has been treated by P. Wolters (*Ath. Mitt.* xl. 91 ff.). Constant use is made of epigraphical evidence in E. Kjellberg's article on a distinguished Spartan of the Augustan age, C. Julius Eurykles (*Klio*, xvii. 44 ff. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, x. 580 ff.).

MARCUS N. TOD.

EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1924–25.

(Plates XIV—XXII.)

§ 1.—Introductory.

When the British School decided to bring to an end its excavations at Sparta in the year 1910, after five campaigns, it was fully aware that the possibilities of the site were by no means exhausted. Its varied activities before the war, at Phylakopi and in Crete, and after the war at Mycenae, have formed the subjects of full reports in various volumes of the *Annual* from XVII (1910–11) onwards, but when Mr. Wace's tenure of the Directorship came to an end, the decision of the Committee to resume work on a site of the Classical period led to the renewal of work at Sparta forming their first choice. The fact that the new Director had taken an active part in three of the five original campaigns was an additional reason for returning there, and it was accordingly resolved to resume operations in 1924, with the Theatre as the first objective; and in hopes, moreover, of carrying out a fuller exploration of the Acropolis, and also of gaining fresh information as to the topography of ancient Sparta by extensively testing portions of the ancient city previously unexamined. The principal results of the work of the two seasons, 1924 and 1925, form the subject of the present report.

The chief features of this work have already been described, for a special illustrated report was circulated in the autumn of 1924 which summarised the results of that season's work, and the work of 1925 was described in some detail, in the Annual Report of the School for the Session 1924–25.[1]

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the generosity of the Hellenic Government in granting us permission to resume work at Sparta, and to record our appreciation of the ready help and encouragement afforded by the officials of the Archaeological Section of the Ministry of Religion and

[1] Cf. also my shorter accounts in 'Archaeology in Greece,' *J.H.S.* xliv. pp. 257–260, and xlv. pp. 213–217.

Education in the necessary arrangements for the work. During 1924 their representative was Mr. Chr. Karouzos, recently appointed Ephor of Antiquities for Thessaly, and in 1925 Professor S. Kamarinos, Rector of the Gymnasium at Sparta, officiated as Ἐπιμελητής, both rendering most valuable assistance. We were further indebted to the same department for permission to engage as foreman G. Alexopoulos, head Phylax at Mycenae, who had served there in the same capacity under Mr. Wace, and at Sparta again amply proved his worth. It was a pleasure to receive Dr. K. Romaios, then Head of the Archaeological Section of the Ministry on more than one visit which he paid to the site.

For quarters we again secured the upper floor of the house which we had rented in 1906–10, conveniently situated both for the site of the excavations and for the Museum. Labour was not difficult to obtain, and many of the men reached a high standard of skill and keenness; a few of our senior hands had worked for the School during the original excavations, and had not forgotten their early training.

Both in 1924 and 1925 the main undertaking was the site of the Theatre, where, by the end of the second season, we had cleared part of the Orchestra, a large portion of the Stage, and of the retaining-walls, and had made extensive trials in the *cavea*. This work is described below, in § 2. Our next most important task was the clearance, not yet completed, of the area situated between the Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos on the Acropolis and the back wall of the *cavea*, which proved unexpectedly rich in finds, and in addition contained the foundations of a structure which seems to have been a portico, to the south of the east end of the Sanctuary. This forms the subject of § 4 below. The other regions investigated in the two seasons include a portion of a domestic and commercial area, north of the Acropolis (General Plan **L 11,** *B.S.A.* xiii. Pl. I), chiefly interesting for the yield of moulded Hellenistic pottery, some of which is described by Miss Hobling in § 5; the discovery of pieces of moulds supports the view that a local fabric is here represented. A few pieces of Geometric pottery indicated that the site was occupied since the earliest days of Historic Sparta, and the presence of late Roman coins shewed that the occupation, even if not continuous, could be traced down to the late fourth century of our era. Another residential quarter was located in 1925 on the south slope of the high ground which runs eastwards from the Acropolis proper towards the river, where Mr. Cuttle found,

and cleared, most of an extensive Roman villa, with an elaborate system of hypocausts. Many of the floors, with the pillars of superposed bricks, circular in section, supporting them, came to light. The incidental finds were not of great importance. Other trials in this region yielded disappointing results.

On the Acropolis itself, in 1925, Mr. Cuttle also cleared, and was able with the help of Mr. De Jong to plan, the greater part of an important Byzantine church (possibly to be identified with that of H. Nikon), of which the ruined triple apse had long been visible above ground. This lies about 120 metres east of the Chalkioikos site. On the slope below it to the south he also found in 1924 remains of a house, or possibly a bath-building, with a well-preserved mosaic pavement exhibiting a polychrome design of geometric type, alongside which was a cement-built water-conduit with several pipes, apparently of late Roman date. In 1925 another mosaic pavement came to light a short distance south-west of the Theatre, and may prove to be closely connected with the bathing-establishment of which remains are still visible. This will be further investigated, as the construction was of strikingly massive type, and a few fragmentary marbles found there suggest the possibility of further and more interesting finds of this nature.

It will thus be seen that the minor excavations have so far yielded rather disappointing results—some less productive trials are left out of account altogether—except in so far as they shew us the extent to which Sparta in the Roman age had become a city of luxurious residences. Our only possible clue to the existence of a sanctuary hitherto obtained lies in the discovery of a few votive model limbs and heads in terracotta, found at one point under the floor of the large Byzantine church already mentioned. It is essential, however, that more trials be made, over several areas still scarcely touched, and the possibility of further discoveries seems by no means limited to the two principal sites, which will form our main objective in the third season.

A. M. WOODWARD.

EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1924–25.

§ 2.—The Theatre.

(Plates XIV, XV.)

The scanty references preserved from the ancient writers who alluded to the Theatre at Sparta include no description of its shape, size or appearance, with the single exception of the passage in which Pausanias tells us (iii. 14. 1) that it was of white marble (*λίθου λευκοῦ, θέας ἄξιον*). The other authorities make mention of it only in reference to festivals or other events which took place in it. These allusions cover a long period, but do not help us to gain any idea either of the history of the building or of its form or size at any given date. They may be advantageously cited in chronological order, thus :—

Herodotus, vi. 67. (The quarrel of Demaratos and Leotychidas in the Theatre on the occasion of the Gymnopaidiai, *ca.* 491 B.C.)

Xenophon, *Hell.* VI. iv. 16. (The news of the battle of Leuktra arrived on the last day of the Gymnopaidiai, *τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ χοροῦ ἔνδον ὄντος*. That *ἔνδον* means 'in the theatre' is confirmed by Plutarch's account, *Ages.* 29, which repeats Xenophon's, adding *ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ*.)

Athenaeus, xv. 631 *c*. (Quoting Aristoxenos (Aristotle's pupil) for the celebration of the Gymnopaidiai in the Theatre); and iv. 139 *e* (quoting Polykrates (date unknown) for the procession of boys on horseback passing through the Theatre on the occasion of the Hyakinthia.)

Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 34. (A. is bidden not to laugh at the Spartans, nor to suppose that they toil in vain, *ὁπόταν ἢ σφαίρας πέρι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ συμπεσόντες παίωσιν ἀλλήλους*.)

Pausanias, iii. 14; see above.

We only learn, in fact, that from at any rate the early fifth century the Spartans celebrated the Gymnopaidiai in the Theatre; that the Orchestra was accessible to horsemen; and that it was the scene of the Ball-game. It is plain that archaeology, not ancient literature, alone will give us fuller particulars concerning the Theatre at Sparta.

The late Guy Dickins, in publishing his account of preliminary investigations at the Theatre in 1906 (*B.S.A.* xii. pp. 394 ff.), has usefully summarised the evidence furnished by the descriptions of travellers who visited Sparta from 1770 onwards, and a reference to his remarks will suffice. We may now more confidently endorse his conclusions: (1) that the 'stage-buildings' seen by Leake and Dodwell early in the nineteenth century, and by Curtius in 1852, were, in fact, the remains of Byzantine houses built over the stage (some, as will be seen, actually rest on walls belonging to the stage). (2) That the careful dimensions given by Gell cannot rest on accurate measurements. Indeed, wherever we can check them they are wrong, and it is pretty clear that he could not have dug down to the Orchestra to measure its radius, which he gives as 70 feet.[1] A point where we might have hoped for useful information from these earlier accounts is the exact arrangement of the *cavea*, for it is clear that the process of spoliation of the marble seats has mostly taken place within the last 150 years. Actually, apart from the view given by Leroy,[2] looking across the stage-region towards the east of the *cavea*, which is not of sufficiently close accuracy to help us, and the details given by Gell, we have nothing at all to guide us where the seating has all disappeared. It is, however, certain that already in mediaeval times the marble seats of the Theatre were being removed for building purposes, for whole or broken ones appear in Byzantine structures elsewhere on the Acropolis. Nevertheless, as our plan shews, it has been found possible by tests made at various points in the *cavea*, in addition to the complete clearance at two points of portions of the lower rows of seats, to arrive at a pretty correct restoration of the whole of the seating-arrangements (see the Plan, Pl. XIV).

The results of the trial-trenches dug in 1906 are fully published (*B.S.A.* xii. *loc. cit.*), and we need only note that they were practically confined to opening up a long trench along the west side of the stretch of late (Byzantine) wall which runs southward from the east end of the western retaining-wall, and to clearing the junction of these two; and within the Theatre itself, one shaft was sunk to examine the lower part of the seats

[1] *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea*, p. 328. He must surely mean diameter though actually he says 'radius,' which is even less nearly correct. The radius, taken from the ascertained centre of the Orchestra to the inner edge of the blocks forming the sides of the water-channel round it, is 12·25 metres (slightly over 40 feet 2 in.).

[2] *Les Ruines des plus beaux Monuments de la Grèce*, Pl. XIII.

just inside the same retaining-wall. As a matter of fact, the latter trench, which also found the Orchestra-floor, did not furnish very exact *data* as to the arrangement of the seating, as it found a rather destroyed portion. The other trial made at the Theatre was a long trench cut in 1909 from near the top of the *cavea* on its east side down towards the stage. This revealed extensive remains of the upper rows of seats, in considerable confusion, and clear traces of the existence of a *diazoma*. Lower down it was not carried deep enough to penetrate below the Byzantine level above the stage, and as a result nothing came to light which was deemed worthy of publication.

We began in April, 1924, with the intention of locating the stage-buildings, and of ascertaining, if possible, the dimensions of the Orchestra, and the state of preservation of some part of the lower rows of seats in the *cavea*. This programme was carried through, though less of the stage-area was cleared than we had hoped, owing to the complicated nature of the Byzantine settlement which covered practically all the region examined. On the other hand, the unexpected discovery that the east Parodos-wall was faced with marble blocks, of which the great majority bore inscriptions, made us devote more labour than we should otherwise have wished to the task of uncovering the wall, and searching, with no small success, for fallen blocks in front of it. We further lost time, close to the end of the season, as a result of torrential rains washing down many tons of earth into one of our deepest and most important cuttings, which had to be cleared by forced measures, before we closed down for the year, to enable the surveying to be completed.

As the result of our first campaign, which had only lasted from March 31st to May 31st, we had reached the Orchestra-floor, at an average depth of sixteen feet, and had cleared about one-fifth of its surface; of the stage, we had found, and cleared, nearly all the *Hyposcenium*,[1] and had uncovered a large part of the presumed *Scenae Frons* running parallel to it, and the central part of the space between the two; we had cleared part of the lower seats at three points, namely, adjoining the extreme south-west and south-east corners of the Orchestra, and in addition, at eleven metres'

[1] I advisedly use this term to avoid the complications involved by the use of *Proscenium*, without intending to claim it as the only possible name for this wall. Dörpfeld-Reisch, *Gr. Theater*, p. 301, deny the correctness of *Hyposcenium* in the sense of 'Buhnenvorderwand.' If I appear to defy this view it is only through inability to find a suitable alternative. 'Stage-front' is scarcely standardised in the sense required.

distance north of the *Hyposcenium*, had found the lower rows of seats on the east, together with one of the stairways; of the eastern retaining-wall we had uncovered about eight metres' run of inscriptions, and had verified its continuation five metres further east. Of the Byzantine settlement which covers nearly all the area examined, we had planned and levelled up all the walls we found, and had removed them when necessary; and we had obtained, from a careful study of the coins found in association with them, a good deal of evidence for the probable limits of the Byzantine occupation of the site (cf. note on p. 157 below).

In 1925 we almost completed the clearance of the stage, except for strips left for barrow-tracks, and digging behind the *Scenae Frons* found at an unexpectedly deep level remains of a wall which seems to indicate a stage of—possibly—Hellenistic date. Other conclusions now reached regarding the various periods represented in the stage-buildings will be considered later. In the *cavea* we completely cleared the corner of the eastern seats nearest the stage (cf. Fig. 3), and, by removing the Byzantine masonry from above the western retaining-wall, found the remains of ten rows of [1] seats almost undamaged, together with the lateral stairway outside them. Of the east retaining-wall, we cleared all the rest of the inscribed blocks, and followed it further east to a point where it returns outwards; and, moreover, by laboriously removing large numbers of fallen *poros* blocks from the far (east) end of this wall, were enabled to recover its original line, and to find that below the average modern ground-level, the marble facing-blocks are still *in situ*. Of the western retaining-wall, we found that the marble facing had practically all been stripped from the eastern end, as far as the southward return,[2] which corresponds to that displayed by the east wall. The *cavea* was extensively tested at other points, and it appeared that scarcely any remains of the upper seats could be traced in its western half, but high up near the centre a portion of the seating and another stairway came to light; and further clearance of the *diazoma* located in the trench dug in 1909, in combination with a close study of the remains of the seating, has enabled us to plan the whole of the *cavea* in an almost final form. The returns of the retaining-walls, from their outward extremities, were carefully cleared, and offer interesting constructional features; and more light was thrown on the problem of

[1] See Fig. 6, and contrast it with Fig 8 (before removal of the Byzantine material).
[2] See p. 132 below.

the date, by a study of the relation of the back wall of the *cavea* to the remains on the Acropolis.

The Cavea.

It is inevitable that certain elements in the plan should be conjectural, where so much is destroyed. We have, however, proceeded on the assumption, which fuller investigation might compel us to modify to a small extent, that the lay-out of the seating was uniform and, in general, symmetrical.[1] This is warranted by all details hitherto observed, and consequently we assume that every stairway located has a corresponding one on the opposite side of the central axis. The plan shews ten in all below the *diazoma*, numbered there, for convenience of reference, I–X. Of these we have uncovered portions of Nos. I, V, and VIII–X, and there is no reason to doubt that they were continued upwards above the *diazoma*, to the upper extremity of the seats. As is usually the case, the blocks of upper seats are again subdivided by an additional stairway inserted between each of the continuous ones, and these are numbered on the plan as II*a*, III*a*, etc. (No such upper stairs are restored in the narrower blocks of seats nearest to the retaining-walls, as they would be superfluous.) Of these, we have only found portions of V and VII*a*, and it is at the lower end of the latter alone that we have actual remains of the *diazoma*.

The width of the two lateral stairs (I and X) is 1·05 m., the remainder being ·95 m. The height of the steps is normally half that of the seats, namely, ·1625 m. for the lower seats (which average ·325 m. high), and apparently ·16 m. for the upper (which are restored as ·3 m. high). The presence of the *diazoma* is responsible for an exceptional arrangement, where it was necessary to achieve a sharper rise to reach the top of the *podium*, and we restore six steps in place of four to give access to the first seat above it (see the section, Fig. 2). The lower seats, which numbered thirty rows,[2] had in front of them, as at Megalopolis [3] and elsewhere, a single row of benches with backs, behind which runs a passage-way. Here, however, the front row of seats proper is raised on a plinth or step, on which the feet of the front-row spectators rested, leaving the whole

[1] Certain exceptions will be noted as we proceed.

[2] Or, more strictly, thirty-one if we restore one on the outer edge of the *diazoma* (cf. p. 126).

[3] *Excavations at Megalopolis*, pp. 37 ff., and Fig. 24.

passage free (Fig. 1, and cf. Fig. 6), while at Megalopolis their feet rested on the passage itself. The interval at Sparta between the back of the bench and the fillet of the front seat is 1·10 m. (80 cm. being occupied by the passage, and thirty by the step above), whereas the Megalopolis interval is *ca.* ·915 m. (3 feet). The exact profile of the benches is not ascertainable, as their remains are much chipped, where preserved at all, but the seat itself had a curved surface and formed a more obtuse angle with the back than those at Athens, Megalopolis or Epidaurus.[1] In front

FIG. 1.—LOWER SEATS IN EAST OF *CAVEA*, LOOKING NORTH.

of them ran a water-channel, ·50 m. wide, and of slightly greater depth, built of well-dressed marble blocks resting on two courses of *poros*. In the eastern half of the *cavea* it had been much disturbed, but its outflow could be traced for some distance at first in a S.-E. direction, till it had cleared the angle of the stage, and then southwards; cover-slabs were found in position for short distances both north and south of the eastern retaining-wall, the former apparently a later reconstruction. At its western outflow it seemed to have been blocked later by the construction of a flight of three steps, leading southward past the end of the *Hyposcenium*, which we shall notice

[1] Whether these benches represent, as seems to be the case at Megalopolis, an addition to the original plan, is not yet clear. Certain indications point in that direction, and require to be further investigated.

below (p. 142 f.) in dealing with the stage. The nearer wall of this channel (·45 m. wide) served as foot-rest to the benches, and the further side, adjoining the paving of the Orchestra, was found, opposite the foot of Stairway VIII, and for a short distance each side of it, to bear inscriptions (four lists of Nomophylakes, and one *cursus honorum*), dating from the second quarter of the second century after Christ (*vide* § 3, No. 2). Where so much disturbance has taken place, it is not easy to attain an absolutely accurate series of measurements for the seats, and our figures are based on a comparison of a careful selection of the best-preserved examples. The average projection of each row in front of that above seemed to be ·73 m. in those below the *diazoma*, and ·72 m. in those above it. Thus the breadth, on the plan, of the lower thirty seats was 22 m., and that of the upper twenty, 14·4 m. Each row consists of a seat-space, ·30 m. wide, behind which is a space ·43 m. wide, and sunk *ca.* ·015 m., to take the feet of the persons sitting in the row above. That minute differences would be detectable to-day, even if no destruction had taken place, would not be surprising; and it is not unlikely that, to hasten the draining-off of rain-water, each row sloped a trifle downwards from the centre towards the nearest flight of steps. This, however, has not yet been confirmed.

It was further observed that the six lowest rows of seats were made more comfortable by being slightly hollowed out, as may be well seen in the view of the eastern portion of the *cavea* (Fig. 1). We noted also that the risers of the seats are invariably undercut, and have a plain fillet above and below; the latter feature is far from common, and is unknown in the chief theatres of the Greek mainland, where, if there is a fillet, it is only on the upper edge of the riser. This fillet returns down each end, not only where the seats abut on a stairway, but also, occasionally, at the junction of two blocks of marble.

The great majority of the seats found *in situ*, and many of those found dislodged, are composed of large blocks of the required height, and averaging ·90 m. square, with a strip *ca.* 15–18 cm. wide left roughly finished where it was covered by the seat above. Sometimes, however, a slight moulding is added to the inner edge, in spite of the fact that it would have been invisible.[1] There are a few possible instances of patch-work, presumably later than the original construction, especially the use of a separate piece of marble *ca.* ·30 m. wide, to form the seat proper.[2] Small

[1] Cf. Fig. 3, seat marked A.

[2] The edges are too straight for this to be merely due to later breakage in every case.

sinkings, square in section, intended to support the posts for an awning, were noted at irregular intervals in the foot-rest of the front benches in the east of the *cavea ;* there is a pair set symmetrically just clear of the foot of Stairway VIII, and two further south. A similar sinking exists in step 9 of Stairway I, and smaller round holes, through which to tie the awning-ropes, are found in certain of the seats. Similar cuttings are not uncommon, *e.g.* at Megalopolis (*op. cit.*, p. 35).

The Diazoma.

The only direct evidence for a *diazoma* was obtained by cleaning out the old (1909) trench at the point where the existence of this feature had been recognised in it. The marble had all been stripped away, but the substructure of coarse limestone seemed little disturbed. We uncovered a horizontal foundation 1·65 m. wide, and six short steps above it, each ·25 m. high, and giving a rise of 1·50 m. in 1·80 (5 : 6) in place of the average rise of *ca.* 1 : $2\frac{1}{4}$. Above them, the foundations seemed to indicate a return to the normal pitch, or rather the slightly steeper one which we suggest for the upper seats. These foundations seem to fit most satisfactorily with a restoration giving us a *diazoma* 1·20 m. wide, with a seat projecting another ·30 m., the normal width. It is not unlikely that this first row may have consisted of benches with backs, in which case they may be assumed to have had a width of ·50 m., as did those in front of the lower seats, which would narrow our passage-way down to 1 m. Above it we restore a *podium* also a metre in height, and a foot-rest for the first row of upper seats, ·75 m. wide, as opposed to the normal one of ·43 m. (Fig. 2).

Whether there was also a lower *diazoma*, half-way up the lower blocks, remains unknown. We can only tell that there cannot have been one as low down as the tenth row, or below, for the continuity of these tiers was found unbroken alongside Stairway I, and the pit which located Stairway V shewed no traces of a passage interrupting rows 16–19 inclusive. It may, perhaps, prove possible to verify the point in the coming season, but I am not hopeful; in any case, we may assume that if there was such a lower passage, as would not be unusual,[1] it was narrow, and did not interrupt the grading of the seats, for our measurements shew a continuous rise in the gradient of the lower seats up to the main *diazoma*.

[1] At Epidaurus, with even more rows of seats than at Sparta, there is no lower *diazoma*.

FIG. 2.—COMBINED SECTIONS OF LOWER SEATS AND *DIAZOMA*.

Substructure and Retaining-Walls.

It is not clear to what extent the *cavea* rests on made-up ground. While it is obvious on the one hand that the hill out of which it is cut is natural in the centre, there is good reason for believing that the wings are largely supported on an artificial embankment. Thus our Theatre will in this respect resemble those of Argos, Athens, and Megalopolis, among others. Not only is this probable in view of the unnatural shape of the hill otherwise implied, but it is rendered almost certain by the extremely

FIG. 3.—LOWER SEATS OF E. *CAVEA* PARTLY CLEARED.

massive retaining-walls, which have so long formed one of the most striking features of the site of ancient Sparta. This conclusion was completely confirmed by the result of our testing the ground in, and behind, the upper portion of the *cavea*. As will be seen below,[1] the region lying south of the western half of the Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos, for a distance of at least 16 m. in a southerly direction, was found to be made up with a layer of foreign clay, increasing in thickness as it descended the slope towards the back of the *cavea;* this layer, when our excavations ended for the season in 1925, had already attained a depth of over 3 m. We cannot tell how far down the auditorium this belt of clay runs, and

[1] § 4, p. 251 f.

anything like an exhaustive test of its extent would be out of the question, owing to the expense involved. Nevertheless, we verified its existence for most of the way round in a southerly direction towards the west retaining-wall, by a trench following the level at which, had they been preserved, we should have cleared the sixteenth and seventeenth seat-rows above the *diazoma*. This trench, moreover, revealed an interesting feature of the structure, namely, a terrace-wall, built of small rubble with many rounded cobble-stones set in mortar, of a width of *ca.* ·72 m. and going down to approximately two metres' depth below the present ground-surface. This was traced almost continuously from Stairway V nearly to the line where Stairway II should come, but between the latter and the outer edge of the *cavea*, above the west retaining-wall, all signs of it had vanished.[1] In the other direction, just west of Stairway V, it ran into a sort of *glacis* of similar material, which supported the remains of three seats (Nos. 17–19, upper), of which the position is indicated in the plan (Pl. XIV). Its eastward continuation could not be verified, as intrusive mediaeval masonry breaks the line. This wall is obviously made for the purpose of helping to support the embankment, and it would be natural to expect it to be coterminous with the made bank. Pending more extensive tests we cannot tell if any more, similar, terrace-walls were employed, but it is not unlikely; indeed its unexpectedly narrow width would seem to make it of little use if it stood alone. Nor have we yet ascertained to what extent the uppermost seats were supported merely on rubble-concrete. Indications to the contrary were obtained in the trench which revealed the *diazoma*, for, as we have seen, the substructures of the steps, and seats alongside them, in Stairway VII*a*, consisted of close-fitted blocks of coarse limestone, similar to those supporting the lower seats and steps wherever preserved. Further digging will be needed before we can tell whether the eastern half of the seats as a whole have this masonry-foundation above the *diazoma*, or, if not, at what points it gives place to rubble; and, moreover, whether the presence of the former is an indication that the subsoil is the natural hillside, and again, if the use of rubble-foundations is confined to the 'made' ground. We have, on the other hand, no indication anywhere that the lower seats and steps rest on any other foundation than limestone blocks, as already stated. Their

[1] But there is no need to infer that the clay embankment gave place again to the natural ground. On the contrary, the collapse of both extremities of the *cavea* is a further proof that it was 'made' ground.

style of construction can be well seen in the views of the eastern portion of the lower seats (Figs. 3 and 4), and a particularly well-preserved example appears on Stairway X, where the marble treads have all been stripped.

The wall marking the rearward limit of the *cavea* was visible at the two extremities of the semicircle before our work began.[1] We followed it from the west, in a succession of trenches along nearly half its course

Fig. 4.—E. *Cavea*: Retaining-Wall and Foundations of Stairway No. X.

towards the axial line of the *cavea*, but east of this it proved impossible to trace owing to the presence of Byzantine walls, especially in the sector behind Stairways VI and VII. Where we found it, it was of uniform construction, a footing of rubble, set in mortar (2 m. deep), on which were one or more courses of dressed limestone blocks, varying in length between

[1] Cf. *B.S.A.* xii. p. 402. The diameter of the semicircle which it forms is wrongly given as 104 m.; it is almost exactly 114 m. between the outer edges of the stones.

1·10 and 1·60 m.; they were *ca.* ·80 m. wide and ranged in height from ·28 to ·38 m. (In Fig. 7 the E. end of this wall appears against the sky-line).

From the levels observed, it was plain that the foundation ascended in steps to correspond with the rise of the ground-level from the extremities of the semicircle towards the centre; and to obtain a wall of uniform height, the outer ends were built up several courses high. Thus there are five (or possibly six) courses lost at the western end, where the present level of the wall-top is *ca.* 2 m. below that of the wall found in the trench south of the E. end of the Chalkioikos-Sanctuary (where it appears that no courses are missing); and, at the eastern extremity, where it is ·29 m. lower than on the west, one more course is to be restored. Actually there are four courses in position here already, as against two at the western extremity, which shews that the foundation was laid at a correspondingly deeper level than at the other end.

Whether there was an arcade behind this wall, as Gell states,[1] is very doubtful, for nothing definitely indicating one can now be seen, nor have we uncovered any masonry suggesting its existence. It is also clear that the Roman walls south of the Chalkioikos-Sanctuary belong to houses of late date, which have no original connection, either in structure or in orientation, with the outer wall of the *cavea*. Among the few finds associated with the foundations of this wall there was no object pointing to an earlier date for it than the Roman period, to which it should presumably be ascribed in view of the style of construction. Unless we should obtain evidence to the contrary, it seems natural to regard it as contemporary with the marble seats of the *cavea* (see below, p. 251 f.)

The Retaining-walls.

Attention was also paid to the massive retaining-walls which support the outer edge of the embankment, both on the south and, for distances not yet determined, on the east and west. The former, of which the general direction is east and west, present various interesting features. It was thought at first, in confirmation of Mr. Dickins's observations, that these walls would meet, if continued in a straight line, but more careful study and measurement have shewn us that this is not true, and that they would form, if produced, an angle of 179°, each wall being only half a

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 328.

degree out from forming a right angle with the axial line through the *cavea* and Orchestra. It is not impossible that this represents an error in their original setting out.

Moreover, instead of running in straight lines from the Orchestra to their outer angles (*i.e.* where they return northward) they shew an unexpected southward return, and then continue in their original directions.[1] This was first found in clearing the west wall, which we followed westwards from the Orchestra end, and remained inexplicable until, in clearing the base of the east wall, abreast of the wall behind the *cavea*, we found the three lowest steps of an external staircase projecting from the lowest course of the marble facing of the wall. Time did not permit us to follow this throughout, but when the east wall was found to have likewise a return carrying a projection corresponding to that on the west, the purpose of these returns became clear, namely, as the supporting-walls of these external flights of steps (for we must assume that the western retaining-wall was similarly equipped). Their object can only have been to give access to the *diazoma* ; and the plan shews that if we restore 55 steps, each ·18 m. high, with treads ·302 m. wide, we obtain the desired rise of *ca.* 9·90 m. in a length of 16·65 m. to bring us up to the level of the *diazoma*, as ascertained, approximately, in the *cavea* opposite Stairway VII *a*. In view of the breadth of this projection we restore the steps with a width of 2·50 m., assuming that the marble facing-blocks on the projection were of the same width as those of the main walls. This is still subject to confirmation, but not unlikely.

Such external stairways leading up to the *diazoma* are far from common. At Mantineia, where the whole of the *cavea* is supported on an artificial embankment, in addition to the external stairs at two points on the arc of the curve, there is an exterior flight alongside the N.-E. retaining-wall, not unlike ours at Sparta, whereas on the S.-E. there is one which leads up likewise to the *diazoma*, but starts from the end nearest the Orchestra, on the outside of the retaining-wall.[2] I purposely leave out of account the examples of stairways in Roman theatres carried up

[1] There seems to be a slight difference in the measurements in this respect. The return on the west is 33·70 m. from the (presumed) outer S.-W. angle, while that of the east wall is only 33 m. from the (presumed) outer S.-E. angle; thus they are respectively 36·30 and 37 m. from the axial line of the *cavea* and Orchestra, which seems exactly to divide the total distance of 140 m from angle to angle.

[2] Fougères, *Mantinée*, p. 169 f.

over the Parodos-arch, and roofed over (*e.g.* those at Aspendos and Patara), and the rock-cut ramp at Syracuse.

Another feature of outstanding interest in the retaining-walls is the presence of inscriptions on the marble facing-blocks of the east Parodos, where they are preserved for a length of *ca.* 14 m. Although the end of this wall nearest the Orchestra has been removed (cf. Fig. 3), we may safely assume that the inscriptions commenced close to the pedestal in which the wall terminated. These texts are described and published in full, together with those on the fallen blocks and fragments, in the following section

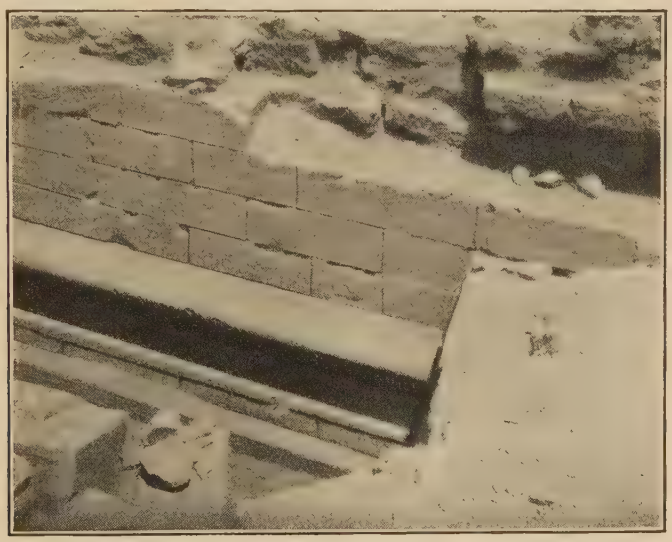


FIG. 5.—E. RETAINING-WALL: MARBLE FACING CLEARED DOWN TO FOUNDATIONS.

(pp. 160 ff.) That the west wall, from which the marble facing has been almost entirely stripped, was likewise inscribed, appears highly probable (see p. 200). The elevation, together with a sectional view, of the blocks still *in situ* in the east wall is shewn on Pl. XVI (and cf. Fig. 5). The blocks are slightly bevelled at all four edges in front, and are closely fitted, without mortar; many of the fallen blocks have cuttings for clamps, in some of which are the remains of the lead which held them. The dressing of the face varies, as the uninscribed blocks have not the carefully smoothed finish of most of the inscribed ones; but some of the latter were inscribed without this final dressing of the surface.

A shallow vertical *anathyrosis*, *ca.* ·12 m. wide, which runs regardless of the presence of vertical joints, appears at irregular intervals, as if intended to break up the monotony of the plain surface.[1] The inscriptions are sometimes cut on this *anathyrosis*, and seldom did the engraver deliberately avoid it. The height and length of the blocks appear in the drawing referred to already; their depth varies according to the course to which they belong. Most of the fallen ones hitherto examined are *ca.* ·49 m. deep, but a few are *ca.* ·74 m., and at the west end, those *in situ* in the first course above the *torus*-mould are ·68 m. deep. We may note here that there are four marble facing-courses below the *torus* (cf. Figs. 4 and 5), their height and projection being as follows :—

(1) Ht. ·24 m.; projects beyond course above ·16 m.
(2) Ht. ·25 m.; ,, ,, ,, ,, ·07 m.
(3) Ht. ·25 m.; ,, ,, ,, ,, ·07 m.
(4) Ht. ·22 m.; recessed behind course above ·26 m.
(5) Ht. ·36 m.; (*torus*-mould) projects beyond course above . . . . . ·29 m.

The missing pedestal or pilaster of the east wall is restored in the drawing from that which stands at the end of the west retaining-wall, and appears, as far as preserved, in Fig. 6. Its base consists of two plain courses, of which the lower (measuring ·92 × ·61 m.) is practically flush with the front line, as well as with the surface, of the step below the first row of seats proper; above the second is a course made of a single block, of which the lower half is plain, and the upper has a simple pilaster-base moulding. Above this, but now lost, was a plain rectangular shaft, of uncertain height. Whether in addition to its capping it carried some form of decoration—perhaps a small statue—is problematic. We may compare, for a similar termination for a retaining-wall, the pedestals found at the Theatre at Megalopolis.[2] They stand on two plain courses, which line with the front of the first row of seats, and the shaft, from which the capping is lost, measures inclusive of its base, which has a simpler moulding than ours, 1·30 m. in height (or *ca.* 1·40 m. inclusive of its cap). No doubt

[1] The distances between these *anathyroses* are as follows (measured on centres and beginning on the left) : 1–2, 2·80 m.; 2–3, 2·30 m.; 3–4, 2·50 m.; 4–5, 2·10 m.; 5–6, 3·70 m. Much is to be said for the suggestion, due to Mr W. A. Sisson, of the British School at Rome, that they were primarily intended as guides to the masons who were to dress down the blocks finally ; but that this was left undone.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 43, Fig. 32.

ours also served as a terminal for the coping on top of the wall, but whether the coping at Sparta overhung the wall on each side, as at Megalopolis, or was flush with its sides, is still unknown, as we have not yet identified for certain any of the coping-blocks.[1] We may, at any rate provisionally, believe our retaining-walls to have ended in a pedestal perhaps 1·50 m. in

FIG. 6.—W. *CAVEA*: LATERAL STAIRWAY (NO. 1) AFTER REMOVAL OF BYZANTINE WALL (1925).

height over all, rectangular in section, with a simple moulding above, as well as below. In it, perhaps about half-way up, the wall-coping ended. The base of this pedestal comes level also with the *torus*-moulding, which returns on itself, just before reaching it, as can be seen in Fig. 6

[1] We have found, among fallen blocks from the wall, two coping-blocks, of different depth from back to front, ·49 and ·51 m. The former must belong, in view of our having found fallen blocks ·49 m. deep, presumably from the course directly below the coping.

The marble facing seems to have extended the whole length of the two southern retaining-walls, as far as their outer angles. On the west this has not been verified to the west of the projection that carries the outer stairway; but on the east, at a point directly below the end of the wall which marks the upper limit of the *cavea*, after laboriously removing an immense number of blocks fallen from the retaining-wall, we reached its original face, and found that at about the average modern ground-level (of the field behind), marble blocks *in situ* began to appear (Fig. 7). This level was also associated with a large quantity of marble chippings, testifying to the destruction caused by mediaeval stone-robbers. Following the marble blocks down to their foundation-course we came upon the bottom steps of the outer stairway already described, and found that, in all, nine courses of marble facing-blocks remained in position at the best-preserved point. These are about ·39 m. high, and above them in the tenth course was part of a taller block, which indicated that a course of orthostat-blocks was here employed to vary the monotony. As the *torus*-moulding, as we have seen, followed the projection, presumably there was none on the main wall (where it would in any case have been out of place, and an actual impediment to the use of the steps; nevertheless it may have resumed E. of the foot of the stairs). Whether the marble facing extended right up to the top of the wall we cannot decide; too much has fallen away from the limestone backing of the wall to permit of an opinion. From the aesthetic point of view it seems probable that the facing went to the top. A certain amount of evidence appears in the photograph (Fig. 7) for the system of applying the marble blocks; we see, for instance, that course No. 9 consisted of ' headers ' which ran much farther back into the wall, that the orthostat-course above was (naturally) shallow, and that courses 13 and 18 were again ' headers ' deeply set in. The curious cutting-back of the lower part of course 19 of the limestone blocks was traced again nearer the angle. It is possible that it was so cut to carry a heavier facing-course, perhaps moulded (?); [1] but it may be merely due to the course of limestone blocks (' headers ') which fitted into it having all fallen.

[1] The projecting moulding on the blocks of the west retaining-wall renders this far from impossible. It is well seen in Leroy's Plate XIII (*op. cit.*) but must have fallen since his visit.

Masons' Marks.

Many single letters, no doubt rightly interpreted as masons' marks, were recognised during the original excavations, and are reproduced in Mr. Dickins's article.[1] I noticed two only among the numerous fallen blocks from the backing of the east retaining-wall which we removed, as above described, but no systematic search was made for these marks.

FIG. 7.—EAST RETAINING-WALL, PARTLY CLEARED.

These were Λ (ht. ·12 m.), and Μ (ht. ·095 m.). They add nothing to the little chronological evidence obtained from a study of the previously published instances.

The Returns of the Retaining-walls.

The outer retaining-walls on the east and west were traced for part of their course with interesting results. On the west, starting from the

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 403.

extreme S.-W. angle, we now have a length of nearly 40 m. (measured along the chord of the arc) exposed down to foundation-level for most of this length; on the east, where fallen material has hitherto prevented us reaching the exact angle, we have followed the course of the wall to a point distant (again along the chord of the arc) 46 m. from the angle, the wall itself being clear for about 36 of them. The principal discovery is that these walls undoubtedly follow the curve of the *cavea*, and are set out from the same centre as it is. In addition we now know that they never had a marble facing, as we have found, right down to their foundations, the original rusticated surface of the blocks, mostly uninjured, and a projecting moulding on the face of the west wall is inconsistent with a marble facing; and lastly, we have secured exact details of the arrangement of projecting footing courses, for a short length on the east and a considerably longer stretch on the west, which strengthen them for the thrust of the bank of earth which they were meant to support. It is clear that these foundation-courses are not stepped symmetrically, as there is a wider projection visible (cf. the plan, Pl. XV) on the western ones at a point where we may compare them, namely, 20 m. northward from the angles. In fact the average projection of the western foundations is *ca.* ·38 m., while that of the eastern is only ·20 m. Moreover, the former consists of six, and the latter of only five courses which are off-set from the true line of the wall above ground. These courses average ·39 m. in height, which is the average height of the courses of the wall itself. The strong rustication of the blocks is visible where they have escaped damage by weathering, and in contrast to the drafted edge, about 3–4 cm. wide, the centre of many of the blocks sometimes is left with a boss which stands out as much as ·08 m. from the drafted margin.

How far these retaining-walls continued is still unknown. The course of that on the west is interrupted after 40 m. by the Byzantine fortress-wall of the Acropolis setting off in a north-westerly direction, and we did not try for it beyond this point. On the east, where we have traced it to a point 46 m. along from the angle, the last two metres were rendered difficult to expose by the presence of a later (Byzantine?) wall, in an advanced state of decay, which was built almost on top of it. To remove the latter promised too long and risky a task, but it may prove possible to verify the continuation of the retaining-wall still further along, where it may be clear of this complication. At the same time, it cannot

have been necessary to continue it much further, as a few more metres would undoubtedly bring us on to the natural slope of the hill, where such a wall would the superfluous. Similarly on the west, we know that the outer wall did not continue so as to reach the region which we excavated in 1925 in front of the west end of the Chalkioikos Sanctuary. Had it run another 25 m. in its original direction, we should have found it there. It should be easy to locate its termination in the coming season, now that this area will be free of crops, which caused us to restrict our trial-trenches here in 1925. We shall thus hope to complete the plotting of both ends of the returns, and the manner of their finishing-off is likely to be of some interest. How thick the backing of the wall is must also be tested, and further clues sought for with regard to its date.

The Orchestra.

As described above, we had to dig down about 5 m., on an average, to reach the level of the Orchestra. Its shape, as is shewn on the plan, is that of a semicircle with a slight addition, 4·50 m. in width, between the E.-W. axial line and the front of the late *Hyposcenium*. It was at first thought, by Mr. Dickins, as a result of his tests in 1906, and by Mr. De Jong and myself after our 1924 campaign, that the continuation of the Orchestra south of the centre represented a pair of tangents drawn to the circumference, but fuller study has shewn us that the continuation is on a curve, but with a larger radius, and therefore a differently placed centre, than those of the semicircle proper.[1] The diameter up to the nearer edge of the block forming the side of the water-channel, already mentioned in connection with the front benches, is 24·50 m. All this area was, it seems, paved in Roman times with thin slabs about ·30 m. square, of white and red marble.[2] Most of the area which we have cleared has been much disturbed,[3] but close to the stage-front (*Hyposcenium*) some almost undamaged portions came to light (cf. Fig. 8, lower r. corner).

[1] For an example of the secondary centres on which the *cavea* of a theatre is laid out, cf. the plan of that at Epidaurus.

[2] Mr. Dickins was wrong in saying 'greenish marble,' *B.S.A.* xii. p. 401. The red is *Lapis Lacedaemonius*.

[3] Byzantine stone-robbers had penetrated in places nearly a metre below the level of the paving.

FIG. 8.—W. END OF *HYPOSCENIUM*, PART OF ORCHESTRA-PAVING ON R., AND BYZANTINE WALL BUILT OVER STAIRWAY NO. 1.

FIG. 9.—GENERAL VIEW OF STAGE-REGION, LOOKING EAST (1925).

The Stage.

It would be premature to attempt to give an exhaustive account of the stage-buildings, or to assign dates to the various periods represented by their remains, as we have by no means completed the excavation of this region. Here, much more than in the *cavea*, the presence of the Byzantine settlement is responsible for destruction, as well as merely for disturbance, of the earlier masonry. It will not, however, be necessary to deal in detail with the Byzantine structures at present, and we have accordingly omitted them, with two exceptions,[1] from the plan of the stage-region.

In the hopes of making this account more intelligible, the principal walls and other remains will be described as far as possible in order, from north to south. Nearest to the Orchestra, and at a distance of only 4·50 m. south of its centre, is the stage-front or *Hyposcenium*,[2] of which we uncovered the greater part in 1924, and the remainder, except for a quite narrow strip, left perforce as a barrow-track, in 1925. This has a length of 24·30 m., and its front wall is 1·45 m. thick; the returns are much slighter, being only *ca.* ·58 m. thick, except at their south ends, where they abut on the wall of the *Scenae Frons*, and shew at this point a width of 1·04 m. At the point where it is best preserved, the front wall is standing to a height of a metre above the pavement of the Orchestra. It is mostly composed of well-trimmed limestone blocks, of varying sizes, on the back as well as front, with a rubble core set in mortar.[3] Not only was it originally faced along the base with thin marble slabs, of which slight portions have survived, but it seems also to have carried a facing of marble slabs, resting on a ledge ·31 m. wide, at a level of ·24 m. above the Orchestra-floor (visible in Fig. 9). This cannot have reached to the extreme corners, as they are formed by larger limestone blocks, with no recess cut in them. Nor can this facing have been carried continuously right across the front of the *Hyposcenium*, as it is interrupted by two semicircular niches, recessed from the ledge, which are 1·80 m. wide and ·85 m. deep. Traces of thin marble revetting remain in the western one. The presence of such niches in the front of Roman stages is far from rare,

[1] The cisterns in the E. stage-region, and the line of wall bounding it on the west.

[2] For the name see above, p. 121, note 1.

[3] The style of building is not unlike that of the best portions of the Roman Amphitheatre at the Orthia site.

a well-known example being the larger theatre at Pompeii.[1] It is surprising that there was no staircase leading up on to the stage from the Orchestra, apart from the (later) steps at the W. end of this wall. Omitting the two niches, and the undecorated corners, it seems that there must have been 19 (6 + 7 + 6) metres' run of this marble facing, of which none has survived for certain. It seems possible, however, that we might be correct in recognising some of the missing blocks in the decorative festoon-blocks found by Mr. Dickins in 1906 in the western face of the Byzantine wall just opposite the west end of the *Scenae Frons* (*B.S.A.* xii. p. 397 and Fig. 2). These are 1·27 m. high, and have a depth of ·37 m., without their mouldings.

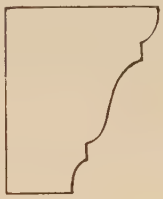


FIG. 10.—SECTION OF MARBLE MOULDING FROM RETURN OF *HYPOSCENIUM*.
(Scale 1 : 2).

They would thus have projected appreciably if placed on our ledge (·31 m. wide), but this would have been masked by the marble incrustation on the course below them. In any case too little of them is preserved for us to say if they can be reconstructed to form one, or attributed to more than one, of the required runs of facing mentioned above. Their height, 1·27 m., added to the height of the base on which is the ledge, would not prove an improbable one for a Roman stage-front.[2] The returns of the *Hyposcenium* had likewise marble incrustation, with slabs, ·016 m. thick, and a skirting course, of which a section is shewn in Fig. 10; this was found *in situ* at each end, but did not continue for the whole length of the W. return (the E. return is not yet fully cleared). At the west end, as can be seen in the foreground of Fig. 9, there is a flight of three steps, of poor patch-work construction, in marble, which mount from the Orchestra, directly past the west end of the *Hyposcenium*, above the outflow of the

[1] Cf. Mau, *Pompeii*, p. 145, and Rizzo, *Il Teatro Greco di Siracusa*, p. 145 f., for traces of the niches of the Roman stage-front there, and other parallels.

[2] As Dickins recognised, *loc. cit.*

drainage-channel, to a higher level, in the small room formed west of the return of the *Hyposcenium*. That these steps are of later date than the *Hyposcenium* is proved by the fact that they obscure the marble incrustation along the return of it, and incidentally prevent all egress from the Orchestra at its original level. The building of the *Hyposcenium* in any event left but a very narrow passage between it and the ends of the benches standing below the front seats, and it seems that when these steps were put in, the ends of these benches were broken away, on the west, to allow full access to the lowest step.

The returns, already mentioned, do not bond into the massive wall to the south, which is doubtless to be identified with the *Scenae Frons*, and we need not hesitate to regard them as later than it. The space enclosed between them, over which we must suppose the floor of the *pulpitum*, or stage proper, to have been laid, was found to be congested with worked marbles, especially towards its west end. Some lay in disorder, but others had been roughly heaped or laid together to furnish a foundation for the Byzantine settlement above. They included several pieces of architraves and cornices of various types, a large angle-piece from a coffered ceiling, pieces of three patterns of column (cf. Fig. 11) and as many types of capitals, and more than one inscription. The conspicuous shafts of red granite, of which one (3·50 m. long) is preserved intact, all lie pointing northward, as if they had fallen forward simultaneously.[1]

As we shall see, the bases to which they belong are perhaps to be recognised. Another important find in this region, lying at a deep level, *ca.* 5 m. east of the western return, was the torso, of very fair Roman work, of a male statue with the remains of long hair descending on to the left shoulder; perhaps an Apollo or youthful Dionysos. In the hopes of further portions coming to light, its publication is withheld for the present.

The Scenae Frons.

At 8·20 m. distance behind the front of the *Hyposcenium* (12·70 m. south of the Orchestra-centre) is the wall of the *Scenae Frons*, of which we have not yet cleared the extreme ends. It seems, however, to have been more than 10 m. longer than the *Hyposcenium*, since we have traced

[1] This material must have been imported, as no granite is found in Greece. Cf. p. 147, below. Three of them can be seen in Fig. 9.

it, not quite continuously on the east, for a length of 34·50 m., and at each end it seems to be cut short by, or incorporated in—the relations are still doubtful—a still later wall which is built up against it behind, and returns both ways at its east and west ends. It is of a very different type of construction from the *Hyposcenium*, being built of large squared blocks of limestone, carefully fitted, but not in very regular courses, some blocks which are lower than others being packed up with flat bricks, or occasionally small pieces of cut stone or marble. Its foundations are a very miscellaneous collection of material, including the broken shafts of more than one Doric column, and its width varies between 1·05 and 1·10 m. At its best preserved point near the centre it stands to a height of 1·46 m. above Orchestra-level, and its foundations do not go as deep as those of the *Hyposcenium*, the under side of the lowest regular course being ·15 m. above Orchestra-level. This wall was perhaps never carried up much higher than it now stands, as it may prove to have had as its primary object the carrying of a row of columns, of which considerable indications remain, in the form of moulded bases and plain plinths. These bases rest on plain plinths of grey marble, *ca.* ·18 m. high, 1·05 m. long and ·80 m. deep, which are set back *ca.* ·10 m. from the front of the wall. Close to the west end of the wall two of these plinths are preserved, and on the westernmost the moulded base was found *in situ*. An almost identical type of base (the only difference being that it is nearly three centimetres higher: ·249 m. as against ·22 m.) was found fallen in front of the other plinth, and has been temporarily replaced there, as may be seen in Fig. 9. These moulded bases, to judge by that preserved *in situ*, were ·628 m. square, and ·22 m. high, with plain mouldings above and below. That they extended at intervals the full length of the wall is proved by the discovery of one of the supporting plinths at the extreme east end of it; it will be seen that the level, calculated independently, is only one centimetre different between the tops of these two plinths. This east-end plinth, located just by the return of the later wall which terminates ours, might be expected to be matched by a corresponding feature on the west, but here, as Fig. 12 shews, there has been a later disturbance, and the presence of the expected plinth is not satisfactorily verified, owing to the intrusion of a block of a different type. We have not yet found plinths at the east end corresponding in position to the two certain examples on the west, which are, on centres, 2·5 and 5·25 m. east

of the return. Whether more of these bases stood originally nearer the middle of the length of the wall is hard to verify, owing to Byzantine rebuilding. It must also be noted that remains of marble incrustation were found in position near the west end of the *Scenae Frons*. A well-preserved piece returns along the later wall, which runs N.-S. at right-angles to it; this is shewn in Fig. 12, which also shews the further complication of a portion of the same material running at a higher level on the face of the wall, which is of later construction, behind the *Scenae Frons*. This upper stretch of incrustation has not yet been followed downwards, and likewise has not yet been found *in situ* further eastwards along the wall, but this absence must be due to destruction.[1] It gives the impression of having formed the facing of the wall—which I describe as later—so as to serve as background for the presumed colonnade supported on the low wall in front. The meaning of the larger piece of marble incrustation running round on to the (later) west return, will be considered below in connection with other remains found in this region.

The colonnade which we must restore as standing on our *Scenae Frons* (without committing ourselves to a definite answer as to whether the wall served merely to carry these columns, or rose higher in between them) was not the only colonnade of which we have evidence in this area. Even more definite are the remains of a series of more massive columns standing in front of the wall. As the plan shews, we found three pairs of bases, or their foundations, standing *ca.* 1·50 m. (on centres) in front of the wall. The distance between the two on the west is *ca.* 2·55 m., as is the case with the eastern pair, while the central pair seems to have been set *ca.* 3 m. apart. The western pair seems to have been set nearly half a metre [2] further away from the central pair than was the other, and we also noticed a lack of symmetry in their details. The western base of the western pair consists of two courses: the lower, a plain block of hard limestone ·30 m. high and ·93 m. square, supports a massive block, also ·93 m. square below, but chamfered so that its dimensions above are ·75 m. square, the total height being ·32 m., of which ·11 m. is that of the straight piece below the chamfering. The other western base rests on a wider plinth, but had not been fully cleared by the end of our second season;

[1] A few fallen fragments of small size were found opposite the centre of the wall.

[2] Not less than ·30 m.; perhaps slightly more. We have only the foundations of the central pair preserved, and exact measurement is difficult.

the illustration (Fig. 9) shews the west side of it, with an assortment of architectural marbles placed on it by the Byzantine builders. Of the central bases only the rough foundation remains, and the eastern pair differs considerably from the western in having mouldings on three sides of each. In each instance these pairs of bases stand on a foundation of massive limestone blocks, closely fitted, of which the upper surface differs

FIG. 11.—FRAGMENTS OF FALLEN COLUMNS AS FOUND, BEHIND *HYPOSCENIUM*.

but little in level from the Orchestra-paving: the westernmost is ·09 higher, the central ·05, and the eastern ·09 m. The last two had likewise been used by Byzantine builders as foundations for structures of which the nature remained unintelligible to us. To judge by their positions when uncovered, it seems natural to connect with these six bases the massive granite columns already mentioned, in spite of the fact that the level at which the latter were found might point to their having been

moved and re-used in Byzantine times in a horizontal position, as walling-material. The coincidence that practically opposite three of the six bases, and not far away from a fourth, granite shafts, of uniform type, were found lying north and south, two of these four being complete, seems a striking argument in favour of our connecting them.[1] In this event, the numerous, but more fragmentary pieces of fluted columns,[2] found in the same area (some pieces of which may likewise be seen in Fig. 11), should probably be attributed to the bases on the wall of the *Scenae Frons*. It would be unwise to take this as certain, till the whole region has been cleared; and the matter is complicated by the existence of two other types of columns, represented by fewer fragments, it is true, namely, a plain unfluted type with a diameter of *ca.* ·46 m., and an ornate pattern with spiral flutings interrupted by acanthus leaves, both found near the west end of the stage. Even more confusing is the variety, both of size and type, of the capitals found. No final conclusions have yet been reached as to the allocation of capitals to columns.

The relation of the six bases to the *Scenae Frons* is plain, but whether they are contemporary can hardly be decided at present. If they were, they must have masked the Corinthian colonnade—or columnar decoration —represented by the bases on that wall, though we must not overlook the possibility that they were used to carry the projecting columns of a system of façade with a broken front, which system might itself be an addition to the original plan of the *Scenae Frons*. Their relation to the *Hyposcenium* is also still obscure, but it seemed clear, as we dug, that the returns of the latter were of later date than the bases, for there was no attempt at connection, and, had the bases been later, the process of sinking their foundations would have surely disturbed the poor rubble walls of these returns, which is not, in fact, the case.

So far, then, we have our *Scenae Frons*, the massive colonnade in front of it, perhaps an addition to its original plan (though indicated on Pl. XV as contemporary) and the *Hyposcenium*, which is definitely later than both the other items, with a flight of three steps at its west end which must in turn be later than it. Before the end of our work in the second season we had clear proof of the existence of a still earlier period of

[1] The complete shafts are 3·50 m. in length; the upper diameter is ·43 m., the lower ·51 m.

[2] White marble, diam. ·42 m., twenty-four flutes; if the height was to the diameter in proportion of $8\frac{1}{2}$: 1, this gives us 3·57 m. for the height of the shaft.

construction in the stage-region. In clearing the region south-west of the *Hyposcenium*, to which we may for convenience refer henceforward as the West Room, we found the remains of a wall two metres in front of the *Scenae Frons*, and quite unconnected equally with it or with the *Hyposcenium*. It is only one block wide, and consists of a footing-course of roughly-dressed limestone, *ca.* ·16 m. high, on which rests a course of hard

FIG. 12.—EARLY WALL (A), WITH LATER ADDITIONS (B, C), AT W. END OF STAGE.

conglomerate, which is dressed smooth, and indeed takes a high polish. On the upper surface, along the central axis of the block, runs a narrow semicircular sinking, ·16 m. wide and ·075 m. deep, which can be plainly seen at A in Fig. 12. A continuation of this line of wall appeared some 6 m. to the east, but it has not been traced any further in this direction. The foundation rests on yellow gravelly earth, which looks like undisturbed ground, at a level of ·30 m. below the Orchestra-paving, and the

block near the centre of the stage, which belongs to the footing-course, is at a depth of ·06 m. below the corresponding block in the West Room. At a later date this wall was raised above the course with the cutting, and remains were found of two more courses, respectively ·30 and ·22 m. high, which were built above it (Fig. 12, B and C). This wall was, however, no longer in use (whether as a result of deliberate removal, or not, is enigmatic), at the time when the marble incrustation already noticed was applied to the west wall of this room, for the lower edge of the marble slabs can be plainly seen to rise, in order to clear the remaining blocks of the wall, still *in situ*. This wall-facing is associated with a floor-level here shewn on the plan (Pl. XV) at pt. 222. 13,[1] just within, but ·76 m. below, the Byzantine gateway leading into this region; and continues again northward, resuming its way after passing the place where the making of the Byzantine threshold and entrance has disturbed the masonry. It finally abuts on the western Parodos-wall of the theatre, as may be seen in Fig. 6, to the left of, and above the moulded pedestal in which this wall terminates.[2] A corresponding feature was observed on the east Parodos-wall (Fig. 3, B), which is there associated with a later and poorer pavement at a height of ·49 m. above the original level of the Parodos-passage. This West Room, then, in its latest Roman form, accounts for the presence of the three steps at the end of the *Hyposcenium*, for they lead up to a level closely agreeing with that of the late floor just mentioned. The floor in the S. half of the room must have lain at a lower level, to account for the marble facing being carried further down; the line of the wainscot-moulding is about ·20 m. above the lower edge, which no doubt marked the floor.

It seems, therefore, that our *Scenae Frons*, when forming the S. wall of the West Room, only received its marble facing at the lower level, which would have been superfluous if none of it were visible below the plinths for the colonnade, at a later date. This re-modelling we should presumably recognise as the last episode in the constructional history of the site in Classical times.

Before we leave the early wall, we must note that a stretch of wall likewise one block wide, of very similar style, came to light behind (S. of) the *Scenae Frons*, at a depth of ·11 m. lower than the foundation-course above

[1] Our levels are shewn in terms of metres, etc., above sea-level.

[2] Cf. p. 134, *supra*.

described as found near the centre of the stage. This lay below a hard-rammed clay-floor belonging to the large rectangular structure situated behind the *Scenae Frons*, which, I have little doubt, formed the Σκηνοθήκη of late Imperial times. We uncovered a stretch 8·60 m. long, terminated on the east by a wall returning southward from that of the later structure; it consisted of a single course of well-worked limestone blocks, resembling, and running parallel to, those found in the West Room. If, as is natural, we connect these two early walls, they would give us a structure 5·20 m. in internal width, and they thus would form the remains of the earliest stage-building hitherto identified in our Theatre. Whether we should date them earlier than the Imperial period is not yet clear.

We must note that, allowing for a slight slope from north to south, the level of the first visible course of this building would come at a quite appropriate depth to agree with the level of the Orchestra. It would be unwise to attempt to suggest a date for these walls until they have been more fully uncovered; on our present evidence I feel uncertain whether to regard them as belonging to an earlier period than the *cavea*. The semicircular cutting on the upper surface of the block in the West Room is not easy of explanation. Three other blocks of similar material and exhibiting a similar cutting were recognised, one at a higher level in the south-west corner of the same room, and two others, also re-used at a late level, behind the stage-centre, not far, in fact, from the early wall forming the south of our presumed building. While the channel naturally suggests a use for rain-water, we must not pass over unmentioned the chance that it may have served a very different end, namely, in connection with the presence of a wooden screen in the Theatre. We should in that case compare it with the cuttings in the blocks at Megalopolis (*op. cit.*, p. 85 and Pl. VII. 2), which likewise were covered over in a later rebuilding,[1] and at Delos.[2]

It remains to describe the massive wall which is built up against the back of our *Scenae Frons*, and forms the north side of a building lying behind it, which comprises, probably, three communicating rooms running the whole width of the stage-region, and in addition, northward returns at each end; to the latter, as found at the west end, attention has already been paid. The style of construction is on the whole similar to

[1] Cf. Dörpfeld-Reisch, *Griech. Theater*, p. 137. In view of the cutting at Sparta being semicircular in section it does not seem likely that it could have been for a screen.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 146 f., and Fig. 59.

that of the *Scenae Frons*, though rather more miscellaneous material has been used in it.[1] We have traced practically its whole extent (a length of 33 m.) on the north and about 8 m. of the south wall. These, and the returns at the extremities, are ·91 m. wide. In the south wall, at a height of ·31 m. above the surface of the single remaining course of the earlier wall (cf. p. 149 f.), is a course with several projecting blocks, on which perhaps a wooden floor originally rested. Above them, at an average level of half a metre (·51 m. where measured), we found a hard-beaten clay floor, extending uniformly over the room as far as it has been uncovered; on this, close against the south wall, a little to the west of the centre, was standing a moulded column-base, obviously not in its original position. On this floor, or trodden into the clay, were many coins, none of which were of later date than the end of the third century of our era; they were mostly Roman Imperial, and included some second-century pieces.

Against the centre of the north wall were two large *poros* steps, the lower of which was 2·5 m. long, composed of four blocks, on which was resting a single rectangular block *ca.* 2 m. long; each is about ·40 m. high. They gave access to an opening, presumably a doorway, 1·65 m. wide, which had been roughly blocked up in Byzantine times, with miscellaneous marbles, including a piece of architrave, to support the wall when rebuilt. There was no very clear corresponding opening in the *Scenae Frons* to the north of this, but in the south wall of the room another doorway, 1·77 m. wide, was recognised, likewise blocked up later. In the north wall we found another opening, possibly also for a doorway, but only ·84 m. wide, situated 3 m. (on centres) to the east of the middle one, and likewise blocked later; and about 10 m. west of the central one was yet another opening, deepened for use as a drain or gutter in Byzantine times, when a street was driven north and south across the stage-region at this point. The western continuation of the north wall then served to carry the south wall of a late house.

The area enclosed on the north by this wall, and on the south by the corresponding one, was apparently divided into three rooms, if our assumption of a symmetrical arrangement is correct. Actually we have not yet located the wall separating the western from the central portion, but that which divides the east and central portions has been cleared, and proves to be undoubtedly contemporary with the main walls. In it is

[1] We noted a much larger proportion of broken-up marbles and of bricks.

a doorway ·88 m. wide, rather north of the central line. This too was blocked in Byzantine times when the western half of the E. room was converted into a pair of cellars (presumably cisterns), built of brick and plaster-lined, with vaulted roofs, and separated by a wall ·68 m. wide. Their floor-level is 3·10 m. below that of the room above them, the *maximum* internal height being 2·80 m.; the length (E.-W.) is 2·50 m. and the breadth 1·30 m. A man-hole, ·80 m. square and brick-edged, is left in the centre of the roof of each. No finds of value occurred in either cellar except a much-damaged marble head—not worth reproduction—from a male portrait-statue, perhaps of an Emperor of the late third century. The interior of the rest of the room to the east of these cellars still awaits excavation, as does the whole of the western end of the area under consideration. Two early-looking partition-walls, found running southwards from the foundations at the west end of the north wall, may prove to belong to an altogether earlier structure.

Further excavation is also needed to shed light on the relation of the north wall of our *Skenotheke* to its two northward returns. That on the west, which has the same width, ·91 m., does not seem to bond in, but must nevertheless be contemporary; as the plan shews, it is a continuation of the wall which must form the western end of the western compartment, and is distinct from, but runs side by side with, the outer Byzantine wall. As we have seen, it forms the west wall of the West Room, and has a large part of its marble facing preserved, though this was destroyed where the making of the Byzantine gateway has cut into it. North of this point, the line of the wall is resumed, and some of the facing-slabs are preserved, but this short stretch which ends against the Parodos-wall is built of less uniform, in fact of very varied material, and includes several re-used marbles, such as the statue-base dedicated to Lucius Caesar (No. 3 below), and a piece of coffered ceiling. The continuation of the marble facing of the wall seems to preclude us from assigning this to the Byzantine period of construction; but the northward extension may be a later Roman addition. A corresponding extension on the east, where similar material was employed, which was found to abut on the east Parodos, and to be associated with a later marble paving, has been already mentioned. The outermost wall on the west, which is 1·85 m. thick, must be altogether of later date, and we need not hesitate to assign it to the Byzantine period. Its chief feature of interest is the series of marble Festoon-

blocks, found in 1906, to which allusion has already been made. It is not necessary to discuss the features of the Byzantine settlement in general, but it is important to repeat here that the level of the threshold in the gateway is ·76 m. higher than the latest observed Roman floor-level in the West Room.[1] The nature and date of the foundations of this wall can hardly yet be discussed advantageously, pending further excavation, and the tentative conclusions reached in 1906 may need substantial revision.[2]

Chronological Conclusions.

In view of the fact, which the preceding account of the remains of the *cavea* and stage has emphasised, that our excavation of neither region has reached a final state, it would be labour wasted, and a misleading undertaking, to attempt to give a detailed chronological scheme for the architectural history of the Theatre. We may, however, advantageously call attention to the chief evidence hitherto obtained, alike from the construction, the stratification and the incidental finds, from which certain tentative conclusions may be drawn.

The masons' marks on the retaining-walls [3] indicate a date not before 200 B.C., and perhaps much later. But we have seen that their function is to support the clay embankment of the *cavea*, in which is a terrace-wall of apparently Roman construction; and the type of material used as foundations of the wall above the *cavea* (p. 130 f.) appeared to confirm the attribution to the Roman age.

If then the *cavea* in its final form cannot be earlier than the Roman period, what can be said for the marble facing of the retaining-walls? Here we obtain a safe *terminus ante quem* from the inscriptions. As we shall see below, all the texts on the east wall seem to belong to the period A.D. 100–150 (or at most to exceed these limits by five to ten years at either end). The surface of the blocks suggests that they had been exposed to the weather for some time before they were inscribed, and we might safely assume that they were already in position by the early Flavian period. It is noteworthy that an inscription exists (*I.G.* V. 1, 691), on a large architrave-block, recording a dedication of a building by

[1] Cf. p. 149, *supra*.

[2] *B.S.A.* xii. p. 400. We may also possibly have to modify the conclusions of Traquair (*ibid.*, p. 428 f.) regarding the date of this part of the fortress.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 403, and p. 137 above.

Vespasian—perhaps a stoa or gateway for the Theatre, where the stone was found,[1] and is dated to the year 77–78. We need not, however, credit him with any other activity in the matter of building the Theatre as a whole, nor can we tell where precisely his dedication stood.

We have, however, two more indications for the date of the building of the *cavea*. The first is the evidence of the coins. Though here too any conclusion must be only provisional pending the completion of the excavation, it is worth recording that we have found practically no coins definitely earlier than the first century B.C. in either the *cavea* or the stage-area. But certain specimens, in good preservation, of types current late in the second half of that century [2] came to light low down alongside the footing-courses of the west Pardoos, and among the seat-foundations in the eastern part of the *cavea*. It would not be strange, then, that these should have been lost during building operations in the time of Augustus. The other, but less definite, clue consists of the fact that we found inscribed bases from statues to Gaius and Lucius Caesar (Nos. 3 and 4 below), the former behind the centre of the stage, the latter rebuilt into a late wall abutting on the west Parodos. As we also found two left feet, of statues of similar style and position, on bases which may well have stood above these inscribed ones,[3] and were undoubtedly of Roman work, it is tempting to suggest that this pair of statues stood in the Theatre, and were dedicated during the recipients' brief lifetimes, within a very few years of the beginning of the Christian era. We do not know that Gaius ever visited Sparta, but it would have been a graceful act, on the occasion of one of his visits to Greece, to honour him, and his brother, with statues; and thereby to gratify their grandfather Augustus, who would be mindful of his own association with Sparta. If we are to look more closely for circumstances in which the Theatre was built on the impressive scale indicated by its existing remains, in the time of Augustus, it is natural to associate with it the name and activity of his friend G. Julius Eurykles, who, as we know, presented to the city a Gymnasium in the Dromos.[4]

But, as was pointed out at the beginning of this report, we know that

[1] *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 400, 477. Fourmont, however, described it as '*prope Ecclesiam S. Nicolai.*'

[2] *E.g. B.M.C.* 63 ff., and 70. For an analysis of the coins found, see *Note*, p. 157.

[3] The cuttings on the upper surface of the inscribed base of Lucius's statue shew that another block stood upon it.

[4] Paus. iii. 14, 6; cf. E. Kjellberg, *C. Julius Eurykles*, in *Klio*, xvii. pp. 44 ff.

the Spartans had a theatre as early as the fifth century, and there is no reason to suggest that it was situated elsewhere. The conclusion which alone seems permissible must be that there was an earlier theatre, but on a smaller scale, remodelled and much enlarged in the time of Augustus (if my arguments are valid). We should perhaps recognise some of the *poros* substructures of seats and stairways as remains of the earlier *cavea* in position (whether or no it had marble seats); and we may confidently admit that the line of the retaining-walls of Roman date does not necessarily coincide with that of the earlier (and smaller) *cavea*. More attention will be devoted, when we have more completely excavated the Parodoi, to the possibility of remains surviving from an earlier *cavea*, which might have formed a fuller segment of a circle.[1]

Admitting that the *cavea* was remodelled and enlarged in the reign of Augustus, we might expect to find a remodelled stage also of this date. Here, however, our evidence is less clear, and at present incomplete. We have seen that remains of stage-buildings of various periods have come to light, of which the earliest may be earlier than the Augustan era, but at present we can only suggest a relative, not a dated, order of succession for them. The problem is complicated by the evidence from the presence of numerous stamped bricks that there was a *Skenotheke*—possibly erected in the first century B.C.—of which we have not yet recognised the position.[2] More of these bricks came to light outside the stage-region on the west than elsewhere, and it is possible that it stood clear of the stage on this side.[3] If we are correct in identifying the series of three connected chambers behind the *Scenae Frons* as the *Skenotheke* of Imperial times (second century after Christ?), it must have replaced the previous brick-built one; and, moreover, as we saw, it must be later, on structural grounds, than the *Scenae Frons*.[4] Nevertheless the latter need not, therefore, be as early as the first century of our era, and there was an absence of first-century coins associated with the lower levels in front of it; nor have we any architectural elements suggestive of first-century work which we might ascribe to it. How long a period is represented by the various remodellings in this area cannot yet be stated with any

[1] The angle at which certain foundation-courses end off below the pilaster at the end of the W. retaining-wall seems to support this possibility.

[2] Cf. *B.S.A.* xii. p. 404; xiii. p. 191 f.

[3] That at Megalopolis stood clear on the other side of the stage.

[4] Cf. p. 150 f. above.

approach to certitude, but we have evidence of some importance for the later history of the site. The coin-series goes on well into the late fourth century without any conspicuous gap, and inscriptions tend to suggest that the site was not abandoned before that period. An unpublished fragment on a piece of an architrave begins [Ἐπι]*φανεστάτοις καὶ ἀνδ*[*ρειοτάτοις sc.* Α*ὐτοκράτορσιν*], which is hardly likely to be earlier than the time of Diocletian;[1] and even more exactly datable is the document relating to repairs ordered at the Theatre by the Proconsul Publius Ampelius, in A.D. 359 (No. 20, below). How completely the Theatre was sacked by the invading Goths in 390 we cannot tell; but it appears that the site lay desolate for many centuries from soon after this date. It cannot be a mere accident that among the numerous Byzantine coins found at the Theatre, no recognisable piece (with one exception) belongs to the dynasty of Justinian (whose coins have been often found elsewhere in Sparta), and indeed it seems that no Byzantine Emperor earlier than the ninth century is represented among them. The *cavea* and stage-region seem to have lain abandoned and water-logged—to judge by the deep accumulation of greenish silt found above them—till the Byzantine settlement sprang up, which extended ultimately all over the stage and some distance up the *cavea*, probably in the ninth century.[2] To secure more stable foundations, and to raise their floor-levels above the sodden ground, they pulled down and heaped together many of the marbles which they found in the Theatre. The full extent and more exact date of the Byzantine occupation of the Theatre must await a detailed description which will not be attempted till more of the site has been uncovered, and the coins finally cleaned and classified. In the meanwhile, the remains of the Classical period provide no lack of problems, towards the solution of which the excavations of 1926 should take us appreciably nearer.

A. M. WOODWARD.

[1] It might well have been dedicated to himself and Maximianus. [A second fragment of the same architrave, found in 1926, contains the name [Γαλ]*ερίῳ* Οὐαλε*ρίῳ* Μαξιμιανῷ.]

[2] I do not thereby imply that the fortifications should be dated as late as this. It does not seem necessary to do so, but this question must be set aside for later study.

NOTE ON THE COINS FOUND IN 1924–25.

In the various regions of the Theatre we found during those two seasons a total of 1199 coins and 16 Byzantine *Μολυβδόβουλλα*, the first season yielding 526 and the second 673. These have not all been cleaned, and many still require identification. Hopelessly indecipherable pieces were more numerous in the first year's finds.

The first classification has given us the following particulars :—

	1924.	1925.
Greek, Graeco-Roman, and Roman Imperial .	134	219
Byzantine	300 (+ ?)	427
Frankish and Venetian Levantine . . .	17	25
Unidentified (mostly Byzantine) . . .	75	2
Totals	526	673

These were mostly found singly, but three hoards occurred among them :—

(*a*) 28, in lamentable condition, apparently Imperial Æ 1 and 2, probably of the late second and early third centuries; [1] found near footings of column-bases in front of centre of *Scenae Frons*.

(*b*) 60 Byzantine, copper, extending from Leo VI (886–912) to Manuel I (1143–1180); found, about one metre below modern surface, behind the S. wall of later *Skenotheke*, just south of the blocked-up doorway.

(*c*) 14 small Byzantine, copper, in poor condition, mostly of twelfth century, from Byzantine house-floor *ca.* 2·50 m. above front seats in E. of *cavea*.

As stated above, the Byzantine series begins with Basil I (867–886), the single piece of Justinian I (if correctly identified) alone excepted. No Byzantine Emperor later than Manuel I is represented for certain; but in view of the large number (*ca.* 140) of pieces of his reign, and the scanty nature of the Venetian Levantine series found (the latest are those

[1] No single piece was decipherable, but one or two of the less decayed might be of Severus Alexander, to judge by what was visible of the head-type.

of Ant. Venerio (1382–1400)), we may infer a decline in the importance of the settlement in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. We need not infer, as I was at first inclined to do, that the site was practically abandoned when Mistra was built. The full list of coins found is likely to shew, at the end of our work on the site, a rather higher proportion of pieces of the Classical period to Byzantine than is represented by the finds of the first two seasons.

A. M. W.

EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1924-25.

§ 3.—The Inscriptions.

(Plate XVI.)

(a) *From the Theatre.*[1]

The yield of inscriptions from our two seasons' work at the Theatre would not have been extensive but for the fact that the marble facing-blocks of the East Parodos-wall proved to be almost covered with a series of texts, for a distance of some fifteen metres from its west end (adjoining the Orchestra). When we had finished excavating this wall, past the point where the inscriptions ended, we had before us an inscribed monument, second only, among monumental inscriptions of the Greek mainland, to the great Terrace-wall at Delphi. Our documents consist of lists of Magistrates, and the *cursus honorum* of individual Spartan officials, dating from the first half of the second century of our era. Twenty-eight separate documents are recorded on the wall as it stands, and other twenty-four are contained, in whole or part, on fallen blocks and fragments, some of the latter very small, which came to light in front of the wall, or a short distance away from it. In addition, three fragments of similar records, Nos. 1 E 25–27, were discovered close to the east end of the corresponding West Parodos-wall, which has had its marble facing-blocks almost all stripped away, and none of the inscriptions, which we may presume it bore, have survived *in situ*.

A second series containing similar documents consists of the inscribed marble blocks forming one side of the water-channel running round the Orchestra. Five such blocks have been unearthed (2 *a*–*ε*), but here again the inscriptions seem to stop short. Of individual texts, here published, Nos. 3–11 consist of statue-bases (complete or fragmentary), together with two lists of magistrates and a *cursus honorum*, all of Imperial date. Nos. 12–15 are portions of inscribed bronze tablets (of the second century of our era) relating, as far as can be seen, to athletic contests;

[1] I am indebted for help in copying these inscriptions, in 1924 to Miss U. D. Hunt, and in 1925 to Messrs. R. P. Austin and J. H. Iliffe, Students of the British School. Mr. Austin, in addition to much careful work in copying, and in deciphering some of the more difficult texts (Nos. 2 and 20 in particular), made many of the squeezes reproduced in this article, which have proved most helpful to me.

only No. 12 gives us any continuous sense. Nos. 16–19 are dedications, perhaps all brought from elsewhere in mediaeval times as building-material, of which No. 19 is an interesting archaic fragment, possibly of late sixth-century date. Nos. 20 and 21 belong closely together, as their contents refer to building activities at the Theatre carried on by order of the Proconsul Ampelius in A.D. 359.[1] Finally, Nos. 22–24 are three small fragments of decrees, of little intrinsic importance, but interesting in view of the scarcity of Spartan documents of this nature.

A few inscriptions found elsewhere than at the Theatre are published separately below (pp. 233 ff.).

1. (2738, etc.).[2] An account of the East Parodos-wall from its architectural standpoint is given above (p. 133 f.), and we are here only concerned with its inscriptions. Pl. XVI, 1, shews the scale and position of the inscribed blocks found *in situ*, from which it will be seen that in the lowest course (A), only four texts are preserved, on blocks A 3–5, 9, 10 and 12; east of A 12 no block is inscribed. In the next lowest course (B) nine blocks are inscribed, with thirteen different texts. In the next (C) there are eleven blocks inscribed, with eleven texts, and in D, the highest of the courses preserved, from which only three blocks survive, only D 3 bears an inscription. (The total of twenty-nine texts is reached, because the text on C 4 continues down on to B 4, and has thus been reckoned twice over.) All the fallen blocks have been given, provisionally, the letter E before their number.

In order to economise space, and in consideration of the fact that there is very little that is doubtful in the reading of the inscriptions as a whole, no facsimile is here published. An exact reproduction from a squeeze is, however, given of A 12, and a photograph (Pl. XVI, 2) of part of the east end of the wall will help to give an idea of the lettering and the dressing of the stones. I have tried so to space the transcripts, as to shew, where necessary, the joints of the blocks in texts which occupy more than one stone; and where it is desirable not to misrepresent the relative position of the names, etc., in a text containing more than one column, I have not expanded either the abbreviated Roman names or

[1] No. 20 contains also two lists of Imperial-age magistrates, not later than the second century.

[2] The number in brackets is that of the excavation-inventory, continuing the record from the excavations of 1906–10. A separate inventory-number has not been given to each of the texts on the wall, or its fallen blocks.

the sign < used for the patronymic when father and son have the same name.[1]

The following analysis of the contents of these texts will simplify reference, and give an idea of their range and approximate date.

I. *Lists of Magistrates.*

No.	Office.	Name of Eponymos.	Date and other remarks.
A 3–5.	Γέροντες	Λ. Οὐολοσσηνὸς Ἀριστοκράτης	*ca.* 115; complete.
C 1.	,,	(lost)	early in reign of Trajan; first ten (?) names lost.
C 6–7.	,,	(lost)	*ca.* 110; about four names lost; is a duplicate of v. 1, 20 B (just before A 3–5 ?).
C 9–10.	,,	Γ. Ἀβίδιος Βιάδας	*ca.* 150; complete.
E 1.	,,	Γ. Ἰούλιος Φιλοκλείδας	Trajanic, before C 6–7; first twelve names only; duplicates v. 1, 97.
E 2.	,,	Γ. Ἰούλιος Ἀγησίλαος	*ca.* 100–105 (later than C 1); first six names only.
E 3.	,,	(lost)	Trajanic; small part from end of a list.
E 24.	,,	(lost)	(?); small damaged fragment.
B 1 (γ).	Ἔφοροι	Ἀριστόδαμος	*ca.* 110 (?); one name left out.
B 4 (γ).	,,	Δαμοκλῆς (III)	late Trajanic.
C 2.	,,	Σπαρτιατικός (Τιβ. Κλ.)	early ,,
C 3 (α).	,,	Νικοκράτης	late ,,
C 11.	,,	Γ. Ἀβίδιος Βιάδας	*ca.* 150.
E 4	,,	Γοργιππίδας	early Trajanic (?).
E 5.	,,	Γ. Ἰούλιος Κλέανδρος	,, ,, (?).
E 6.	,,	Γ. Ἰούλιος Φιλοκλείδας	see E 1; duplicate of v. 1, 51 (fragment).
B 2.	Νομοφύλακες	Κλεόδαμος	*ca.* 110 (?).
B 7.	,,	(Κλ.) Περικλῆς	early Hadrianic (?).
C 3 (β).	,,	Νικοκράτης	see C 3 (α).
E 7.	,,	Κασκέλλιος Ἀριστοτέλης	*ca.* 150, after Biadas.
E 8.	,,	(lost)	two small fragments, undatable.
E 9.	,,	,,	
B 3.	Βίδυοι	(deliberately omitted)	Hadrianic; complete list.
B 5.	,,	Λυσίμαχος	early Hadrianic (?); five names only.
C 4 (& B 4).	,,	(two names lost)	before B 4 (α, γ).
E 10.	,,	Δεξίμαχος Πρατόλα	*ca.* 100; three names only.
E 11.	,,	(lost)	two doubtful fragments.
E 23.	,, (?)	,,	
B 1 (β).	Γυναικονόμοι	Νικοκράτης	see C 3 (α).
E 14.	,, (?)	(lost)	doubtful.

[1] In my commentary I have Latinized the *praenomina* and *nomina* of men with Roman citizenship, but only those *cognomina* which are of Latin origin, *e.g.* Pius, while retaining a literal transcription for all other *cognomina* and for the names of those who did not possess it.

II. *Cursus Honorum.*

No.	Name.	Date and other remarks.
A 9.	Ἀγίων Ἀρτεμισίου	*ca.* 115–140.
A 10.	Εὐδόκιμος Δαμοκράτους	(ditto ?)
A 12.	[Ἰσόχρ]υσος ([Ἰσοχρ]ύσου)	*ca.* 120–150.
B 8.	Χάρης (Χάρητος)	(ditto)
B 9.	Νεικάρων Ζήλου	*ca.* 125–145 (?).
C 5.	(lost)	*ca.* 130–150 (?).
D 3.	Γν. Κανίνιος Πολλίας	*ca.* 115–130.
E 12.	Ἐπάγαθος Σωκράτους	*ca.* 110–125.

III. *Single Posts.*

No.	Name.	Post.
B 4 (α).	Σίτιμος Πρατονίκου	Γραμματεὺς Βουλᾶς
B 6.	Κλέων Σωσικράτους	,, ,,
C 8.	Γ. Ἰούλιος Βοιώτιος	Γυναικονόμος
B 1 (α).	Νικήφορος Νικοστράτου	Κῆρυξ
E 13.	Ἀλεξίμαχος Σωτηρίχου	(none)

These entries have perhaps overflowed from adjacent stones.

It will be seen that much more than half of the datable texts fall into the first quarter of the second century. Some of those called ' early Trajanic ' or ' *ca.* 100–105 ' may be just earlier than 100, but I feel sure that none can be as early as 90—perhaps not even as 95. What principle of selection governed the choice of lists, or their position on the wall, is quite uncertain. Nor is there anything to shew what restrictions there were to engraving one's *cursus* on it.

The exact position of the missing blocks is not recoverable, nor can we yet tell whether the fourth course was engraved for its whole length, or which (if any) of the blocks of the fifth course were inscribed. A study of the dimensions of the fallen blocks which are complete, or nearly so,[1] shews that they amount to approximately ten metres' length if placed end to end, leaving out of account the greater part of the smaller fragments, for which the original length is seldom even conjecturable. Now the sketch of the wall (Pl. XVI, 1) shews that, if we restore the inscribed blocks as having started on the extreme left, as close as possible to the coping, in courses A, B and C, we only have the following length of blocks lost: A—1·65 m.; B—4 m.; C—3·65 m.; giving a total of

[1] E 1, length 1·75 m.; E 2, 1·03; E 3, 1·26; E 4, 1·00; E 5, ·89; E 7, *ca.* 1·10 (conjectural); E 10, 1·20; E 12, ·78; E 13, ·80. Total 9·81 metres.

9.30 metres, obviously inadequate for our ten metres' length of fallen blocks. As, however, we have to place somewhere on the wall no less than thirteen other blocks represented by small fragments only, it is plain that the fourth course (D) at least—and perhaps some part of the fifth—was also inscribed. Any attempt at an exact restoration would be premature, as we cannot be sure that there are not still some inscribed blocks, or at any rate fragments, lying further out in front of the wall in ground which we have not yet been able to clear. Only after another campaign can we begin on a more precise attempt to identify the exact positions of the fallen blocks, though it is worth pointing out here that E 7 seems to belong to row A, as it is only ·34 m. high, and the height of courses B and C seems to have been *ca.* ·36 and ·38 respectively.

A 1, 2 (blank). A 3–5, see over.

A 9. Ἀγίων Ἀρτεμισίου σειτώνης ἐπὶ Δ̣ε̣ξ̣[ιμά]χο̣υ
τοῦ καὶ Νεικοκράτους, γερουσίας ἐπὶ Πρατονίκου,
ἔφορος ἐπὶ Δαμονικίδα, ταμίας ἐπὶ Πολυεύκτου, γε-
ρουσίας τὸ β′ ἐπὶ Ἀριστοκλέους, νομοφυλάκων πρ(έσβυς)
ἐπὶ Ἀντιπάτρου, γερουσίας τὸ γ′ ἐπὶ Πείου, γερουσί-
ας τὸ δ′ ////ἐπὶ Ἀριστοβούλου, βιδέων πρ(έσβυς) ἐπὶ Ὀνα-
σικλείδα, ἐπὶ Εὐδάμου Ἀγίων Ἀρτεμισίου γερουσίας τὸ πέμπτον.
(The last entry added later in smaller and poorer lettering.)

A 10. Εὐδόκιμος Δαμοκράτους τοῦ Σπένδον-
τος, διαβέτης, σειτώνης τὸ β′ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου,
καταγγελεὺς τῶν Εὐρυκλείων, χοραγός,
δικασταγωγὸς ἀπὸ Σάμου, ξενοκρίτης
εἰς Ἀλάβαντα, ταμίας, γερουσίας τὸ γ′,
βίδεος, σειτώνης τὸ γ′ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀδελφόν,
καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησα ἐκβολὴν ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ σειτω-
νίᾳ.

(3)	(4)	(5)
A 3–5. Γέροντες ἐπὶ Λο(υκίου) Οὐ[ο]λο	σσηνοῦ Ἀριστοκράτους, ὧν πρέσβυς ὁ ἀπὸ	Λυκούργου τὸ ϛ′ γεροντεύων
Μελήσιππος Εὐκλήτου.	Ἀνδρόνικος Πολυγνώτου.	Δάμαρχος< Σιμήδι κά(σεν). Φίλιππος Δαμοτίκου.
[Σώ]ανδρος Τρύφωνος δ′.	Φιλοξενίδας Ἀριστοδάμαντος.	Π (vacat) Νήδυμος Φιλοκάλου.
[Ἔ]λενος (Ἑλένου) τὸ ε′.	[Κ]αλλικρατίδας Ἀγησινίκου.	Γά. Ἰού. Δ αμάρη s Ἀγαθοκλέους. Ἑρμογένης Ἀσκλάπου.
Ἀγιάδας Δαμοκρατίδα<s>	[Τ.]Τρεβελληνὸς Φιλόστρατος Πολεμάρχου.	Πασικλῆς Μνάσωνος.
Σωσικράτης Ταντάλου.	[Σ]ωκρ///ατίδας Εὐδαμίδα.	Δάμιππος Διοκλέους. Γραμματεὺς Βουλᾶς
(vacat)	[Κ]λεώνυμος <Σιμήδι κά(σεν).	Ὀνησίων< Δαμονικίδᾳ κά(σεν). Ἀριστοκράτης Καμίλλου.
	[· ·]ύραξ Μνασιστράτου.	Ὀνησίφορος Θέωνος. Νομοδί(κτης) Σωσίδαμος<.

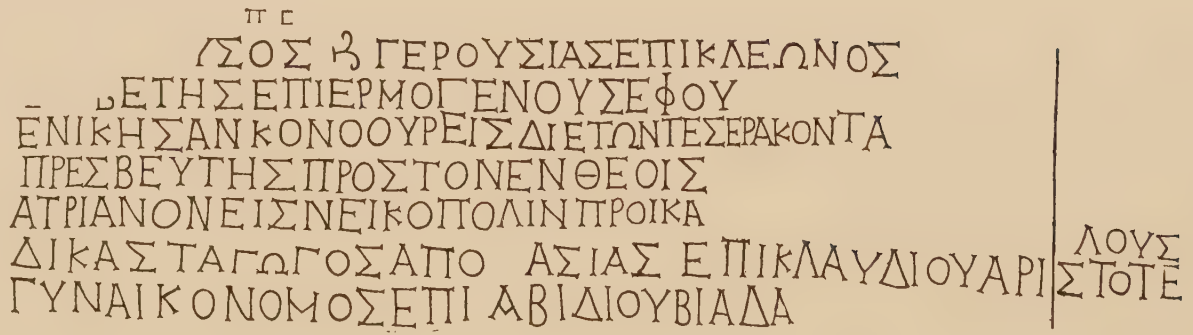
A 3, l. 1, ΕΠΙΑΟ\//ΛΟ.
A 3, l. 2, ends ΗΤΟ.
A 3, l. 5, ends ΤΙΔ^{Σ}.
A 3, l. 6, ends ΤΑΛΟ.

A 4, col. 1, l. 3, ends ΔΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ.
A 4, col. 1, l. 5, ends ΤΟΣΠΑ^{ε}ΜΑΡΧΟ.
A 4, col. 2, l. 4, begins Γ^{ε}ΙΟΔΑΜ.
A 5, col. 2, l. 7, begins ΝΜΔΣΩ.

A 6–8 (blank).

A 11 (blank).

A 12.



ΤΗΣ

A 12. [Ἰσόχρ]υσος (Ἰσοχρύσου), γερουσίας ἐπὶ Κλέωνος,
[δια]βέτης ἐπὶ Ἑρμογένους ἐφ' οὗ
ἐνίκησαν Κονοουρεῖς δι' ἐτῶν τεσεράκοντα, (*sic*)
πρεσβευτὴς πρὸς τὸν ἐν θεοῖς
Ἀτριανὸν εἰς Νεικόπολιν προῖκα,
δικασταγωγὸς ἀπὸ// Ἀσίας ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Ἀρι|λους,
γυναικονόμος ἐπὶ Ἀβιδίου Βιάδα. |στοτέ-

(Edges of *anathyrosis*.)

(L. 1. The letters τῆς are carelessly cut and not connected with the main text; possibly the remains of an earlier inscription incompletely erased).

B 1. (*a*) κᾶρυξ
Νικ[ή]φορος Νικοστράτου.

(*β*) Σώανδρος Τρύφωνος, γυναικονομήσας ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους κατὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη
καὶ τοὺς νόμους, σύναρχοι Ἀρίστων Ἀφροδισίου,
Φιλοκλίδας Ὀνασικλέους, Γά. Ἰού. Φιλήτωρ Σωσικράτου[ς],
Πάρις Φιλοκάλου, Ἄδμητος<.[1]

(*γ*) Ἔφοροι ἐπὶ Ἀριστοδάμου
Σώανδρος Τρύφωνος.
(*vacat*)
Διοκλῆς (Διοκλέους) Ἀντιπάτρῳ κά(σεν).
(*vacat*)
(*vacat*)
Φίλιππος (Φιλίππου) Κλεομβρότῳ κ(άσεν).
Ἀγησικλείδας Δαμοκράτους.

B 2. Νομοφύλακες ἐπὶ Κλεοδάμου,
Ἀγαθοκλῆς Στεφάνου.
Τειμοκλῆς Θεοδώρου.
Μνάσων Πασικλέους.
Γ. Ἰούλιος Λυσικράτης.
Μνάσων (Μνάσωνος). Λ (mason's mark?)
Νομο(δείκτης) Ἀγαθοκλῆς<.

[1] The sign is not < but ≺.

B 3. Βίδυοι ἐπὶ (*vacat*),
'Αγαθοκλῆς Εὐδαιμονίδα.
'Αριστοκράτης Τιμοκράτους.
Καλλικράτης Σωστράτου.
Πασικλῆς Γοργώπα.
Μενεκλῆς 'Αρέος.
Γά. 'Ιούλιος Μένιππος.

B 4. (*α*) Σίτιμος Πρατονίκου γρα(μματεὺς) Βουλᾶς ἐπὶ Εὐκλήτου.
(*β*) See C 4
(*γ*) Ἔφοροι ἐπὶ Δαμοκλέους,
Γ. 'Ιο. Σειμήδης Πολυεύκτου.
Εὔδαμος Νεικοκράτους.
Γ. 'Ιού. Δαμόκριτος Δαμοκράτους.
'Ερμογένης Γλύκωνος.
'Αριστονεικίδας Μουσαίου.
Νομοδείκτας Σωσίδαμος (Σωσιδάμου).

B 5. Βίδυοι ἐπὶ Λυσιμάχου, ὧν πρέσβυς Πρατόνικος (Πρατονίκου).
Κλαύδιος Περικλῆς.
'Αριστονικίδας Μουσαίου.
Φίλων (Φίλωνος). Καλλίστρατος Τιμοκράτους.

B 6. [Γραμ]ματεὺς Βουλῆς [τὸ]ν ἐπὶ Γαΐου 'Ιουλίου Λυσικράτους ἐνιαυτὸν Κλέων Σωσικράτους. βφσ(?)
(Edge.)

B 7. Νομοφύλακες ἐπὶ Περικλέους,
ὧν πρέσβυς 'Αριστονικίδας Μουσαίου.
Σπαρτιάτης Δαμαρίστου.
Νεόλας 'Αρχιάδα.
Φίλιππος 'Ανθίππου.
Θεόφιλος Ξενοκράτους.

B 8. Χάρης (Χάρητος) 'Αλκάστῳ κάσεν πρέσβυς συναρχία[ς] τὸ β′ ἐπὶ πατρονόμου Καλλικράτους τοῦ 'Ρούφου, γεροντεύσας τὸ ε′, ἐφορεύσας, νομοφυλακήσας, γραμματεὺς Βουλῆς γενόμενος, βίδεος δίς, πρέσβυς γενόμενος ἅπαξ, ἐπιμελητὴς Κορωνείας, ταμίας, σειτωνήσας.

B 9. [Νει]κάρων Ζήλου ἐπιμελητὴς καύδου ἐπὶ Σιδέκτα, γε(ρουσίας) ἐπὶ Σιπόμπου, χρεοφύλαξ ἐπὶ Σιτίμου, πράκτωρ τῶν ἀπὸ Εὐρυκλέους ἐπὶ Νεικηφόρου, ἔφορος ἐπὶ Μενίσκου καὶ στεφανίτης, χρεο-

(*sic*) *ονόμος ἐπὶ Θεοφράστου, γε(ρουσίας) τὸ β' ἐπὶ Ὀνασικλείδα, πρ(έσβυς) νομοφυλάκων ἐπὶ Δεξιμάχου, ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἀκτίων συνθύτης.*

C 1. [*Γέροντες ἐπὶ - -, ὧν πρέσβυς - -*
- - (at least ten names missing.) (Edge.)
[Δα]μ[έα]ς Ἀ[ρχί]αδα. Δαμοκλῆς Καλλικράτ|ους. (C 2)
Πασικλίδας Βιοδάμου. Ξενοκλῆς Λυσίπου. |(*sic*) see below.
[Σ]ίτιμος Πρατονίκου. Γάϊος Βυζανίου.
Μένανδρος Γραφικοῦ. Γ(ρ)α(μματεὺς) Βουλᾶς
Διοκλῆς Κεχαρισμένου. Πολύευκτος Σιμήδου|ς.
Ἀριστοκράτης Δαμοκρατίδ[α]. Νομοδίκτης Στράτιος.
Ἀγησίνικος Νεόλα. Ὑπογρ(αμματεὺς) Θέλγων (Θέλγοντος.)
Θαλίαρχος Φιλοξένου. (*vacat*)
Φιλοκράτης Φιλοκλέους. Ε (*vacat*)
(l. 5, end, ΝΟ̆; l. 6, end, ΙΔ.) (l. 7, ΥΠΟΓ[Ρ].)

C 2. Ἔφοροι ἐπὶ Σπαρτιατικοῦ
Θεοκλύμενος Κλυμένου.
Καλλικράτης Πολυκλέους.
Πωλλίων Ῥούφου.
Φίλιππος Σωκράτους πλιστονίκης.
Περικλῆς (Περικλέους).

C 3. (*a*) Ἔφορ[οι] ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους
Μενεκλῆς Κλεοδάμου.
Τ. Κλαύ. Ἀγαθοκλῆς
<Ἀντιπάτρῳ κάσεν.
Εὔθυμος Ἀριστοδάμου.
Δινοκρατίδας Ἀρισταγόρου.
Διόδωρος Διονυσίου.
Νομο(δείκτης) Ἀγαθοκλῆς
(Ἀγαθοκλέους).

(*β*) Νομοφύλακες ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους
Πό. Μέμμιος Δεξίμαχος.
Κλέαρχος Εὐδάμου.
Πασικράτης Φιλοστράτου.
Νικοκράτης Νικομήδους.
Δίων Δίωνος.
Βουαγὸς καὶ συνέφηβοι.

(l. 3 begins Τ ⋉ .) (l. 2 begins Π.) (l. 7 begins ΝΜ. .)

C 4. Βίδυοι ἐπ̣[ὶ] - - - [καὶ] - - -
ἐφ' ὧν παντ̣ . . . . . νει . . . . . ο - -
βησαν Διονυσίδες δεκαδύο δ̣ε̣ - -
νου ////π̣[ρ]έ̣σ̣βυς Στέφανος Π̣ - -
Εὐδαμίδ̣[α]ς Ἀγα[θο]κ̣λ̣έους ὁ καὶ Πο . . . τομ - -
Καλλικράτης Ἀρχίππου. (*vacat.*)

(B 5) Νικοκράτη[ς< Σιμήδ]ει κά(σεν).
Νικοκράτη[ς Νικάρχο]υ.
Ἑρμίας Πασ - -
Γρα(μματεὺς) Ἥσυχος Νο - -

C 5. - - - - - - - - - ς ἔφορο[ς]
[ἐπὶ Κλαυ]δίο[υ Ἀρι]στοβούλου, ἐπὶ τῶν
[δικῶν ἐ]πὶ Γ. Ἰου. Μενίσκου, ταμίας ἐπὶ
[Γ. Ἰου. Θεο]φράστου, δικασταγωγὸς ἐπὶ
[Ὀν]ασικλείδα, γε[ρ]ουσίας ἐπὶ Λυκούργου θεοῦ.

(C 6 | C 7)

C 6. (α) [Γέροντες ἐπὶ- - -, ὧν πρέσβυς]
(3 names lost)
Α - - - - - -
Λο(ύκιος) Καν[εί]νι[ος . . . . . .
δας τὸ γ'.
Τιβ. Κλα. Ἀ[ρμ]ό[νεικος]
Πρατονείκου τὸ γ'.
[Κ]αλλι[κρ]άτη[ς] Νεικάρχου.
Ἀλεξίμαχος Σωτηρίχου τὸ β'.
Θεόδωρος Θεοκλέους τὸ β'.

(β) [Εὐάμε|ρος Ἀρίωνος.]
[Ἐπιτυγχάνων Κλεωνύμου.]
[Σωκλείδας Κλεωνύμο]υ.
[Χ]αλε[ῖνος] (Χαλείνου.)
Ὀνησίφ[ορο]ς Χρυσέρωτος.
Παρδαλ[ᾶ]ς Θεοκλέους τὸ β'.
Μνασέας (Μνασέου).
Ἀγαθοκλῆς Σωσιδάμου.
Νείκιπ|πος (Νεικίππου)
Εὐρυκλεῖ κά(σεν).

(C 6 | C 7)

C 7. (β) [Κλέων(Κλέωνος) Τε]ισαμενῷ κ(άσεν)
Ἱεροκλῆς (Ἱεροκλέους) Ἀττικῷ κ(άσεν).
Τρύφερος Ἐπαφροδείτου.
Ἀριστονεικίδας Μουσαίου.
Νυμφόδοτος Ξενοφῶντος.
Θόας Θόα.
Γά. Ἰούλιος Μένανδρος (Μενάνδρου).
Γοα(μματεὺς) Βου(λᾶς) Τιβ. Κλα. Νεολαος
Πρατομηλίδα.

C 8. Γυναικονόμος
Γ. Ἰούλιος Βοιώ-
τιος ἐπὶ (Γ.) Ἰου. Λυσι-
κράτους.
(l. 3, ΕΠΙΟ.)

C 9 + 10. Γέροντες ἐπὶ Βιάδα, ὧν πρέσβυς
Χάρης ⟨ γερουτεύων τὸ τρίτον.
Φιλούμενος Σωτηρίδα τὸ δεύτερον.
Φιλωνίδας Εὐκρίνους Ⅎ Σωσικρά-
της Ἐπαφροδείτου Ⅎ Ἰούλιος Νέασμος.
Νεικιππίδας Μενεμάχου Ⅎ Ἰούλιος Λύκος.
Καλλικράτης Σωσικράτους Ⅎ Σπαρτιάτης
Σωσιδάμου Ⅎ Εὐδαιμάκων Εὐκτήμονος.

(vacat)
Ἀντώνιος Ὠ[φελίων] Ⅎ Ἰούλιος ⟨. Ζεύξιππος Τυνδάρους. Τι. Κλαύ-
διος Διονύσιος. Μᾶρκος Νεικηφόρου. Καλλικράτης ⟨. Μνάσων Λυσίπ-
που. Φιλωνίδας Ἀγίωνος. Φιλωνίδας ⟨. Φιλοκλῆς ⟨. Εἰσιγένης Στρατο-
νείκου. Γοργίων Κλεοβούλου. Γά. Ἰούλιος Πρόκλος. Γρα. Βουλᾶς Πό. Μέμμιος
Δαμάρης. (vacat)
(vacat)

(Note. C 9, l. 3 ends PN.)
(C 9, l. 4 ends ΣIK.)
(C 9, l. 5 ends M ⊙.)
(C 9, l. 6 ends K ⊙.)
(C 9, l. 3 ends N ⊙.)

C 11. Ἔφοροι ἐπὶ Γ. Ἀβιδίου Βιάδα, ὧν πρέσβυς
Εὐβαβερίσκος Διογένους.
Δαμόνικος (Δαμονίκου) τοῦ Εὐτύχου.
Τ. Κλαύδιος Ἀριστοτέλης.
Εὔδαμος Μενίσκου.
Καλλικράτης Εὐδαμίδα Μωλόχιος.

D 3. (The only inscribed block in this course surviving.)
Γν. Κανίνιος Πολλίας
γερουσίας ἐπὶ Περικλέους τὸ α′,
γερουσίας ἐπὶ Πολυεύκτου τὸ β′,
βίδυος ἐπὶ Δαμονικίδα,
πρέσβυς γερόντων ἐπὶ Καίσαρος.

E 1—22: fallen blocks mostly found in front of the wall, at its west end.

E 1. Γέροντες ἐπὶ Γ. Ἰου(λίου) Φιλοκλείδα, ὧν πρέσβυς
Διοκλεῖς Νεικία τὸ ε′. Σώανδρος Τρύφωνος γ′.
Τιβ. Κλα. Νεικοκλείδας<υἱὸς τὸ δ′. Νεικοκράτης Νεικοβούλου.
Ἀριστομένης Ἐπικτήτου. Ἀριστόβιος (Ἀριστοβίου).
Ἀριστονεικίδας Εὐτυχίδα. Ἀγιάδας Δαμοκρατίδα.
Δαμοκράτης Φιλέρωτος. Ἀριστοκράτης Καλλικράτ̣ους.
Γράνιος (Γρανίου). Τιβ. Κλα. Δαμόνεικ̣ο[ς].
(Col. 2, l. 3 ends ⊕Ϋ⋀; l. 5 ends ΙΔ.)

E 2. Γέροντες ἐπὶ Γ. Ἰου. Ἀγησιλάου, ὧν πρέσβυς
Σείτειμος Πρατονείκου.
Κόϊντος<Μενεκλεῖ κάσεν τὸ γ′.
Μ. Ἀνθέστιος Φιλοκράτης Φιλοκλέους τὸ β′.
Θεογένης<Ἀριστοκράτει καὶ Δαμάρει κά(σεν).
Λο. Ἀπρώνιος Πραξιμένης<.
Δαμέας Ἀρχιάδ̣α.
(l. 6, ⋀; Σ for Ŧ) - - - - - -

E 3. (Built into Byzantine house just to S. of the wall.)
[Γέροντες ἐπὶ - - - - -, ὧν πρέσβυς]
(about 20 names lost)
- - - - [Εὔ]δαμος Σ̣ -
Τ̣. Κ̣λ̣α̣ύ[δ]ιος Ἀγήμ̣[ων] - -
Τ. Κλ[α]ύ[δι]ος Ἁρμόν̣[εικο]ς - -
· · Φ̣. Καλλικράτης Δαμονίκου. κῆρυξ

5 . Μ. Σωσίδαμος< Νοσῳ (?) Νικήφορος Νικοστρά-
Εὐδόκιμος Πρατομηλίδα. του.

(l. 5, ΝΞ <.) (Possibly for Νομο(δείκτης) or νεώτερος?)

Ε 4. Ἔφοροι ἐπὶ Γοργιππίδα, ὧν πρέσ[βυς]-
Νεικίας Ἀριστοκρατίδα.
Τί. Τρεβελληνὸς Μενεκλῆς Ἀρέος.
Κόϊντος (Κοΐντου) Μενεκλεῖ κά(σεν).
5 Δαμοκράτης Φιλέρωτος.
Λάμπις Ἀριστο[δά]μου.
βφσ.

Ε 5. Ἔφοροι ἐπὶ Γα. Ἰουλίου Κλεάνδρου,
Ἀριστοκράτης Ἡρᾶ.
Πολυκλῆς Φιλοκράτους.
Ἔλενος Διοκλέους.
5 Θεόδωρος Θεοκλέους.
Πρατόνεικος Σειτείμου.
κᾶρυξ Μάξιμος.

Ε 6. [Ἔφοροι ἐπὶ Γα. Ἰου. Φιλοκλείδα,]
[Ἄλεξις Φιλοκράτους.]
Π[ασικλῆς Φιλοκράτους.]
Εὐκ[λείδας Δεινάκωνος.]
Φιλο[κράτης Διογένους.]
Κ. Βείβι[ος Φιλοκλῆς Πασικλέους.]

Ε 7. ΠΙΚΑΣΚΕΛΛΙΟΥ
ΠΡΕΣΒΥΣ
ΛΟΥ
ΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥΒΟΥ
ΡΑΤΟΥΣΒΦΚΡΑΦ
ΟΣΙΙLΡΙΚΛΗΣΒΦ
ΓΣΟΓΟΝΟΣ<ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΣ

[Νομοφύλακες ἐ]πὶ Κασκελλίου
[Ἀριστοτέλους, ὧν]πρέσβυς
[Γοργίων Κλεοβο]ύλου.
[Νικήφορος Ἀρισ]τοβούλου, βου(αγός).
5 [Πασικλῆς Καλλικ]ράτους, βου(αγὸς) κ(αὶ)
γρα(μματο)φύ(λαξ).
[Πομπήϊ]ος Περικλῆς, βου(αγός).
[Πάκ. Χρ]υσόγονος (Χρυσογόνου), νεώτερος.

E 8. ΛΑΚΕΣΕΓ [Νομοφύ]λακες ἐπ̣[ὶ - - - -]
ΤΡΑΤΟΣΔ [. . . . .]στρατος Δ - -
ΣC [. . . . .]ς <
ΙΙΚΟΣC [. . . . .]νικος (- -νίκου)
ΑΣΚ [. . . . .]ας Κ - -(?)
Ο - - - ο - - -

E 9. ΝΟΜΟΦ Νομοφ[ύλακες ἐπὶ - -]
Π Π - - - -

E 10. Βίδυοι ἐπὶ Δεξιμάχου τοῦ Πρα-
τόλα, ὧν πρέσβυς
Ἀριστονικίδας Εὐτυχίδα.
Νικανδρίδας Εὐνόου.
(2 ll. *vacant.*)
[Θεογ]ένης Θεογένου(ς) Ἀριστοκράτι κά(σεν).
(ΘΕΟΓ̣ΕΝΟΥΑ *etc.*)

E 11. ϽΝΠΡΕΣΒΥΣ [Βίδυοι (?) ἐπὶ - -,]ὧν πρέσβυς
ϽΥΣ - - - - - - - - - ους.
ϹΩΝΟC [Εὐκλείδας Δεινά]κωνος (?)
ΥΣ [. . . . . ο]υς.
ΛΡ ΣΟΥ [Πωλλίων Ἰσο]χρ[ύ]σου.
ΚΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ [. . . . . Νει]κ̣ο̣κράτους.

E 12. Ἐπάγαθος Σωκράτους,
νομοφύλαξ ἐπὶ Δεξιμάχου,
ἔφορος ἐπὶ Χαριξένου,
γερουσίας ἐπὶ Μνάσωνος,
βίδυος ἐπὶ Στράτωνος,
γερουσίας ἐπὶ Πασικράτους.

E 13. (On a complete block.)
Ἀλεξίμαχος Σωτηρίχου.

E 14. (On l. of block on which is E 10; complete on l.)
ΡΑΤΟΥΣ [- - - - - - - -κ]ράτους
ΧΟΙ [- - - - σύναρ]χοι
ΥΣ - - - - - - υς.
- - - - - - - -
Σ - - - - - - ς.
(3 ll. *vacant.*)

E 15. (Complete below.)

ΑΙ		- - - - - - - ατ
ΔΦ ΛΙ		- - - - -ς Φ[ι]λι̣
ΙΠΟΣΟ		- - - - ι]π̣πος Ο
ΠΙΔΑΣ		- - - - π̣ίδας.
ΟΝΙΚΟΣ	5	- - όνικος.
		(*vacat*)
ΤΟΝ		- - τον - -

E 16. ΑΦ - - αφ - -

E 17. ΝΔΡΟΥ | - - ἐπὶ Κλεά]νδρου (?)

E 18. (On a large block, ht. *ca.* ·37 m., of which the rest is uninscribed.)

ΛΕΟ - - λεο -

(*vacat*)

E 19. ΑΩΝ [- - ἐπὶ - - -δ]α, ὧν [πρέσβυς (?)]

E 20. ΞΕΥΔ - - ς Εὐδ̣[α - -

ΔΑΣ - - δας - - (or δα Σ?).

E 21.

⌐	edge	- - -
Σ		- - ς
⌐		- - ς (?)

E 22. ΦΙΛΟΚ [- - ἐπὶ] Φιλοκ - -

ɔ - - ρ̣ - -

E 23. (Found in *cavea*, a few metres north of the East Parodos-wall, above front row of seats.)

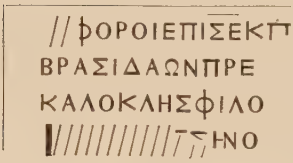
Ι		- - - - - ι̣ - -
ΣΚΑ		- - - - -ς Κα - -
ΗΣΓ		- - - - -ης Π̣ - -
ɔΣΦΙΛΟ		- - - - ρ̣ς Φιλο - -
ιΗΣΔΙΟΓΕ	5	[. . . . . κ]λ̣ῆς Διογέ[νους].
ιΤΗΣΔΙϹ		[Φιλοκρ]ά̣της Δι̣ο̣[γένους].
ΙΟΣΠΡΑΤΟ/		[Πό. Μέμμ]ιος Πρατό[λαος]
ΣΑΡ		[φιλόκαι]σαρ. (*vacat*).

E 24. (*ibid.*)

Γέρ[οντες ἐπὶ - - - -
(4 or 5 lines beyond recovery)
Κ. α
Π. Μ(έμμιος) - -
. οι

(From western end of stage (1924).)

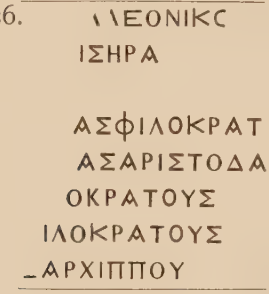
E 25.



[Ἔ]φοροι ἐπὶ Σέκ. Π[ομ](πηΐου)
Βρασίδα, ὧν πρέ[σβυς]
Καλοκλῆς Φιλο - -
[Λο. Οὐολο]σσηνὸ[ς - - .]

Ibid. (1925).

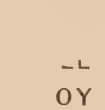
E 26.



[- - - - ἐπὶ] Κ̣λεονίκο̣[υ]
- - - - - ης Ἡρᾶ.
- - (*vacat*) - -
. . . . . ας Φιλοκράτ[ους].
[Φιλοξενίδ]ας Ἀριστοδά[μαντος].
[Ἄλεξις Φιλ]οκράτους.
[Πασικλῆς Φ]ιλοκράτους.
. . . . . ς Ἀρχίππου.

(Found in two pieces in front of E. end of West Parodos-wall (1925).)

E 27.



[- - ἐπὶ Πό.] Με(μμίου)
- - - - - -
[- - - - σε̣]
- - - - ου.

A 3–5. A list of twenty-one γέροντες in the year of L. Volussenus Aristokrates, together with a γραμματεὺς Βουλᾶς and a νομο(δείκτης). Lists of the members of the Gerousia, in various states of completeness, are not rare among Spartan inscriptions of the late first and early second century, and the total strength, where it is ascertainable, seldom reaches the traditional twenty-eight. Two lists from the first century B.C. (v. I, 93, 94) and one (v. I, 97)

from the reign of Trajan give us twenty-three, not counting the secretary, and Kolbe concludes that the number of twenty-eight was attained by the addition of the five Ephors.[1] Three lists engraved on our Parodos-wall give us the following numbers: A 3–5, 21; C 6, 22 (?); C 9–10, 23. Perhaps one or two are accidentally omitted from the first of these, but in any case we have no evidence for a larger total than twenty-three, which adds support to Kolbe's view.

The name of the Patronomos is known from a statue-base (v. 1, 477), and is also restored in two other inscriptions (68, l. 25, as Nomophylax under Claudius Aristoteles, and 295, as deputy-Patronomos for Timomenes).[2] His date is not easy to settle, and discussion is postponed for the present.

Col. I, l. 2. Μελήσιππος Εὐκλήτου, otherwise unknown, must be father, not son, of Εὔκλητος Μελησίππου, who is Ephor, under a Patronomos whose name is unknown, in v. 1, 20 B, l. 8. He had apparently been a member six years in succession, since the Patronomate of Lycurgus, which cannot be identical with the tenure already known from v. 1, 66 (and 67), and to which we have two more allusions in inscriptions published below. (In the former, C 5, l. 5, the Eponymos appears as Λυκοῦργος θεός, and in No. 2 (α), l. 2, without that addition; but we need not doubt the identity of all these four references to his tenure, which falls *ca.* A.D. 150. It is now clear that there was no Spartan citizen of the name who held this office at that date, but that we have a much earlier instance of the practice, which became frequent about the end of the second or early in the third century, of nominating 'the Divine Lycurgus' as Patronomos. The previously known evidence has been collected and discussed by myself, in *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 112 ff. (cf. now also notes on *I.G.* v. 1, 45, 67, 130, etc.), but there then seemed no likelihood that the Lycurgus of v. 1, 66, 67, was the Hero, as this tenure of the post seemed to fall more than a generation earlier than any of those where θεὸς Λ. held office.) The holder in the present instance, who, as we shall see, must belong to the early second century, may well have been a living Spartan.

L. 3. Σώανδρος Τρύφωνος, known from v. 1, 674, l. 9 as a σφαιρεύς (year unknown, perhaps *temp.* Domitian), and from 97, l. 8 as member of the Gerousia (τὸ γ') under G. Julius Philokleidas, where his father's name is restored wrongly as Τι[μί]ωνος, is now known, from B 1, to have been also γυναικονόμος under Nikokrates, and Ephor under Aristodamos, neither of whom is previously known as Eponymos. It is at any rate plain that the year of L. Volussenus Aristokrates came soon after that of Philokleidas, which, in view of other connections of the Gerontes there tabulated, seems definitely of the reign of Trajan.

L. 4. [Ἔ]λενος (Ἑλένου) is not identifiable.

L. 5. Ἀγιάδας Δαμοκρατίδα is also γερουσίας τὸ γ' under Philokleidas, in

[1] *I.G.* v. 1, p. 37. Cf. Tod's discussion, *Sparta Museum Catalogue* (henceforward cited as *S.M.C.*), p. 11 f.

[2] Neither restoration is absolutely certain.

v. 1, 97, l. 11, so must in fact have been a member here for the fourth (or fifth ?) time.

L. 6. Σωσικράτης Ταντάλου is unknown; the name Τάνταλος is so rare that he may be connected, or even identical, with - - Ταντάλου, who is honoured as an athletic victor in v. 1, 671.

Col. II, l. 2. Ἀνδρόνικος Πολυγνώτου is not identifiable, the father's name being unknown at Sparta.

L. 3. Φιλοξενίδας Ἀριστοδάμαντος, appears also as Biduos (?) in E 26 below; in v. 1, 99, l. 2, a fragmentary list of Gerontes (?); and in 147, l. 1 (possibly as Ephor or Nomophylax); neither of the latter can be closely dated.

L. 4. Καλλικρατίδας Ἀγησινίκου, not known, but perhaps descended from Ἀγησίνικος Καλλ - - in v. 1, 95, l. 8 (first century B.C.?).

L. 5. [Τ.]Τρεβελληνὸς Φιλόστρατος Πολεμάρχου, presumably brother of Τ. Τρ. Ἀρεὺς Πολεμ. in v. 1, 20 B, l. 7; for another member of the family see E 4, l. 3, Τ. Τρ. Μενεκλῆς.

L. 6. Σωκρατίδας Εὐδαμίδα, also in v. 1, 99 (l. 5); presumably his son, Εὐδ. Σωκρ. in 128, l. 1, is Agoranomos under Alkastos (*ca.* A.D. 140).

L. 7. Κλεώνυμος (Κλεωνύμου), Σιμῆδ(ε)ι *κάσεν* may be grandfather (or even great-grandfather?) of Kl. (Kl.) in v. 1, 168, l. 4; and I am inclined to identify with the latter Kl. (Kl.) whom we find as γυναικονόμος in No. 9 below.

L. 8. [Π]ύραξ Μνασιστράτου is unknown; the name of his father occurs at Sparta only once (v. 1, 274), and his own, if rightly completed, never till now. It is known, however, at Thisbe, in the more correct form Πύρραξ.[1]

Col. III, l. 2. Δάμαρχος (Δαμάρχου) is not identifiable, though the name is not rare. Simedes, to whom he and Kleonymos above are *κάσεν*, has yet another man so related to himself, namely Νικοκράτης Νικοκράτους, who is πρέσβυς γερόντων in v. 1, 101, l. 4; we should probably, with Kolbe, identify him with Ti. Cl. Simedes, who is honoured in v. 1, 152, though two other bearers of the name are known (*ibid.* 163, and 507).

L. 3. The first name was never completed, the engraver possibly having commenced to cut the name of Pasikles, who comes next but one, in error.

L. 4. Γ. Ἰούλιος Δαμάρης Ἀγαθοκλέους is not known, but might be identical with the father of Ἰούλιος Β[ροῦτ]ος Δαμάρους in v. 1, 66, l. 10; a kinsman of later date may be Γ. Ἰούλιος Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἱπποθράους, in v. 1, 534.

L. 5. Πασικλῆς Μνάσωνος must be the father, not the son, of Μν. Πασικλέους who is the third of the three ἀγωνοθέται of the games in honour of Nerva, held in A.D. 97 or 98, and was subsequently Patronomos (v. 1, 98, etc.); it seems incredible that the son of a man who was holding a post in 97 or 98 would be eligible for the Gerousia not more than twenty years later, for, as we shall see, the date of our present list must be before the end of the reign of Trajan. He would also be, in all probability, the brother of Lysippos son of Mnason, also known as a Patronomos (v. 1, 36 B, l. 26, etc.).

[1] *I.G.* vii. 2724*b*, l. 6. Πύραξ for Πύρραξ seems the most likely name to meet our requirements here: even if two narrow letters are lost the restoration is no simpler.

L. 6. We cannot identify Δάμιππος Διοκλέους elsewhere.

L. 7. Ὀνησίων is not known as a Spartan name. Damonikidas, to whom he is κάσεν, cannot be the Patronomos who is found in v. 1, 40, l. 12, if that text is rightly dated to the reign of M. Aurelius; but in D 3 below, p. 195, we have Damonikidas in a *cursus honorum* just before Caesar (Hadrian). Either then we have two Patronomoi of the name, or the other stone is dated too late. This will be considered later.[1]

L. 8. Ὀνησίφορος Θέωνος, who is not identified elsewhere, must be father, not son, of Θ. Ὀνησιφόρου, who is Nomophylax in v. 1, 80 B, l. 6, under Philokratidas (who seems to belong to the late first century).

Col. IV, l. 2. Φίλιππος Δαμονίκου, not identifiable.

L. 3. Νήδυμος Φιλοκάλου, also found in v. 1, 153, must be a different man from the Patronomos of the name (father's name unknown, mentioned in v. 1, 39, ll. 32, 38; cf. 71, II. l. 7) who can hardly be earlier than the mid second century.

L. 4. Ἑρμογένης Ἀσκλάπου, unknown, unless possibly identical with - - Ἀσκλάπου in v. 1, 121, l. 4 (also list of Gerontes). Asklapos is otherwise unknown at Sparta.[2]

Ll. 5, 6. The Secretary, Ἀριστοκράτης Καμίλλου, is known also as having received a statue from his wife, v. 1, 483, and as having been a member of the Gerousia (?), *ibid.* 103, l. 7. The post of γραμματεὺς Βουλᾶς seems to have sometimes been held late in one's career at Sparta (cf. v. 1, 32 A, and 46), though in v. 1, 39 it is the first post recorded.

L. 7. The post of νομοδείκτης now for the first time appears at Sparta, and our new texts offer several instances of it; cf. B 2; B 4 (γ); C 1, col. II; and C 3 (α). In an inscription already published (v. 1, 148, seen by Fourmont, and not refound) we have, however, NM Σωσίδαμος X Ἀγαθοκλέος (?), which is restored as νομοφύλαξ, surely in error, as there can be little doubt that Sosidamos is the same man in the two documents. He appears again in this capacity in B 4 (γ), below.

The cumulative effect of the prosopographical evidence from the names of these Gerontes is overwhelming in favour of the reign of Trajan as the date for this list; and, as we have seen, it falls very soon after the year of Philokleidas, which seems to belong to the first half of that reign. It is, to my mind, very tempting to identify this tenure with that of the Aristokrates who held office some years before Hadrian, in v. 1, 32 B.

(Blocks A 6–8 are blank.)

A 9. Ἀγίων Ἀρτεμισίου, whose *cursus* we have here, is quite unknown; the former name occurs only once in the Laconian *Corpus* (- - Ἀγίωνος, in v. 1, 195, a mutilated list of uncertain date), and Artemisios is unknown at

[1] P. 195, where it is shewn that there is not a later Damonikidas, v. 1, 40, being in fact of the Trajanic—or early Hadrianic—period.

[2] The nominative is confirmed as being Ἄσκλαπος, for which see Bechtel, *Hist. Gr. Personennamen*, p. 85 f., by an inscription found in 1926, to be published later.

Sparta. The Patronomoi under whom he held his goodly series of posts form an interesting list, and many are previously known. Σειτώνης, which appears again in the following text (A 10), was not one of the regular posts in the *cursus* of a Spartan citizen, and seems to have been a voluntary undertaking. Our only previous evidence for it there, was the existence of two statue-bases commemorating the services of individual σειτῶναι (v. 1, 526, 551), one perhaps in the late second century, the other probably in the reign of Caracalla. For the literature dealing with σ(ε)ιτωνία, see H. Francotte, *Le pain à bon marché et le pain gratuit dans les cités grecques* (*Mélanges Nicole*, pp. 135 ff.). For a valuable group of inscriptions illustrating the provision of corn in times of want, see those cited by M. N. Tod, *B.S.A.* xxiii. pp. 75 ff., in connection with a text found at the site of Lete near Salonika.

Of our Patronomoi, Δεξίμαχος ὁ καὶ Νεικοκράτης should probably be identified with Nikokrates, who appears in B 1 (*β*) and C 3 (*α*, *β*) below, and not with the Deximachos who appears in B 9, *ad fin.*, and in v. 1, 195 (if indeed these are the same man).

Πρατόνικος, whom I restore in 2 (*δ*) below as G. Julius P., will be identical with the Eponymos of v. 1, 40, l. 9; 42, l. 22; and perhaps 298 (though Kolbe would date it later). When we see that Damonikidas and Polyeuktos, who follow him here, do so likewise in No. 40, there is no room for doubt of the identity. A further clue, not free from difficulty, is afforded by D 3 below, which gives us the following order: Perikles, Polyeuktos, Damonikidas, Caesar (Hadrian); the difficulty is surmounted by assuming, as we legitimately may, that the strict order in which the posts were held by the subject of D 3 is not followed by the text. We may at least feel sure that the first four Patronomoi under whom Agion officiated held office before the year of Hadrian's patronomate.

Ἀριστοκλῆς is only known in v. 1, 37, l. 4, and must belong to the reign of Hadrian. Ἀντίπατρος is a rare name at Sparta, and we should very likely identify this bearer of it with G. Julius Antipatros, who is found in v. 1, 663, l. 6 as ἀγωνοθέτης Εὐρυκλείων, and also (with Kolbe) as the son of Lysikrates, who is ἔνσιτος of the board of Ephors in the year of Καλλικράτης Ῥούφου, when his father G. J. Lysikrates was president (v. 1, 53 A, *ad fin.*). Kolbe would date this to the reign of Trajan, but, as we shall see below (p. 186), this is far from certain.

Πεῖος is presumably Memmius Pius, who is known in v. 1, 32 B as Patronomos between Λύσιππος Φιλοχαρείνου and G. Julius Eurykles, and in 65 as coming between the same Lysippos and Hermogenes. Ἀριστόβουλος is likewise known from 32 B, and also 32 A, 34, l. 11, and 102, l. 1, as having been Patronomos towards the end of Hadrian's reign. Ὀνασικλείδας is found here, and in B 9, below, as Eponymos, though not hitherto known to have held this post. He was three times victor at the Orthia Sanctuary (v. 1, 279), and we have his (mutilated) *cursus* in 36 A, and his name in the list of Ephors under Lysippos (Mnasonis *f.*) in 60. Finally, Εὔδαμος is presumably G. Julius Eudamos, Eponymos in v. 1, 63, l. 16, and 76, to whom the victor in 296 is κάσεν.

From the above it is plain that the career of Agion extended from about the end of the reign of Trajan until after the accession of Antoninus Pius in 138. The last entry, obviously in another hand, shews that the text as a whole was engraved in, or directly after, the year of Onasikleidas.

A 10. Εὐδόκιμος Δαμοκράτους τοῦ Σπένδοντος, who (unkindly) does not record the Eponymoi under whom he held office, must not be confused with Εὐδόκιμος Δαμοκράτους ὁ καὶ Ἀριστείδας, who was victor at the Orthia Sanctuary in the year of Alkastos (*ca.* 140), and soon afterwards Spondophoros in the year of Eudamidas, when his father was πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων (v. 1, 64, *ad fin.*). It is tempting to suppose that he may be, however, the father of Damokrates II, for, having reached an age to be member of the Gerousia for the third time, he was obviously an old man before this record was inscribed, which must have been approximately at the middle of the second century.

His offices include some interesting posts: διαβέτης (cf. v. 1, p. 14) need not delay us. For σειτώνης cf. the first entry in the previous text; the statement that he brought his corn from Egypt is striking, but not unexpected.

Καταγγελεὺς τῶν Εὐρυκλείων is an altogether new post, which must be connected with the games in honour of Eurykles, known from many inscriptions (v. 1, Index, vi. 3). It must mean 'one whose duty was to announce,' perhaps that the games were to be held, or, when about to be opened, that he inaugurated the proceedings with prayer and sacrifice. The verb is not rare in such connections; we may cite κὴ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἱαρὸν καταγγελλέμεν, in the sense of 'declare,' in the Amphictyonic Council's decree about the Ptoïan Games (*I.G.* vii. 4136 = *Syll.*[3] 635, l. 32); τὸν δὲ ἱεροκήρυκα - - εὐφημίαν καταγγείλαντα - - - - κατευχὴν καὶ παράκλησιν - - ποιεῖσθαι τήνδε (then follows the invitation to sacrifice and prayer, *Inschr. Magn.* 100 = *Syll.*[3] 695, ll. 40 ff.); also a passage in the Mytilene inscription decreeing games in honour of Augustus (*O.G.I.* 456, l. 10.) For the noun, cf. *I.G.* xii. 8, 190, l. 39, κατανγελεὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ στεφανίτου ἀγῶνος τῶν Πυθίων, at Samothrace.

Χοραγός is likewise a new term in Spartan inscriptions. Whether his duties were general or special, must remain doubtful, but it is not unlikely that among them was the organisation of the dancing at the Hyakinthia, at which festival dances formed a prominent feature.[1] It is possible that he should be identified with the χοροποιός, who appears to have had the duty of controlling some of the arrangements at it.[2] But of scarcely less fame for its dancing was the festival of the Gymnopaidiai, with its dances of the Ephebes in honour of Apollo, held in the Agora at a special part of it called Choros.[3] Our knowledge does not suffice for us to state whether the same Choragos might have officiated at both these ceremonies.

[1] See Polykrates' account of the festival, *ap.* Athenaeus, iv. p. 139 D–F, and Nilsson's discussion of it in his *Griech. Feste*, pp. 129 ff.; it is, however, essentially a festival of Amyklai, in origin, though perhaps less exclusively so under the Empire.

[2] Xenophon, *Agesilaos*, 2, 17. Cf. Kahrstedt, *Gr. Staatsrecht*, i. (Sparta), pp. 174, *n.* 4, 226, *n.* 2.

[3] Pausanias, iii. 11, 9; Nilsson, *op. cit.* p. 141 f.

Δικασταγωγὸς ἀπὸ Σάμου. The same word (δ.) occurs below, in 1, A12, l. 7, as well as (restored) in v. 1, 39, l. 25 f. It may have either of two meanings, namely, an official sent by one State to another to request that a Board of δικασταί be sent to settle some dispute, external or internal, which it has been decided to refer to external arbitration; or an official who accompanies such a Board, being presumably a fellow-citizen of its members.[1] It is not impossible that the envoy who went to invite the despatch of a Board of dikasts should actually accompany it to the city which sent the request. Thus the two senses of the word might apply—in exceptional circumstances—to the same person.

For the former sense we may compare the δικασταγωγοί mentioned in *I.G.* vii. 4130 (sent by Acraephia, to request Larissa to send a Board), and xii. 3, 172, l. 4 (sent by Smyrna to Astypalaea); for the latter, *O.G.I.* 487, l. 6 (in a dedication at Mylasa to Cornelius Tacitus (the historian), as *pro-consul*); and Cauer, *Delectus*,[2] 431 (= Cauer-Schwyzer, 623), ll. 13, 43, 48 (where the D. clearly accompanies the Board sent by Erythrae to decide a case at Mytilene). Our present example suggests that Eudokimos not only went to Samos to invite a Board, but also accompanied it to Sparta.

Ll. 4, 5. Ξενοκρίτης is a word hitherto unknown, as far as I am aware. Its meaning in this context is plain, namely, that Eudokimos went to Alabanda as arbitrator, or Board of one, to settle some local dispute there. Had he been merely one of a Board, he might have referred to himself as ξενοδίκης, as the word is not rare in this sense, or as a member of a ξενικὸν δικαστήριον.[2] Alabanda, in Caria, is usually spelt with a *delta*; its coin-series suggests that it was a city of fair size and importance. For the use of *tau* for *delta* we have an even more striking instance below (Ἀτριανόν for Ἀδριανόν, A 12).

Ll. 7, 8. The meaning clearly is that 'in none of my σιτωνίαι did I have to jettison any of the corn my ships were carrying,' a pleasing personal touch, with which we may compare that in *I.G.* v. 1, 37, *ad fin.*, where we read—καὶ χρυσοῦ διδομένου οὐκ ὀλίγου οὐ προσήκατο, καθὼς ἐμαρτυρήθη. For this use of ἐκβολή, in its technical sense of the throwing overboard of cargo, to save the ship in heavy weather, we may compare the passage in the *Lacritus* of Demosthenes (926, l. 16, ἐντελὲς πλὴν ἐκβολῆς). I can find it in no other inscription.[3]

A 12. The most likely restoration of the name in l. 1 is [Ἰσόχρ]υσος, seeing that the name is known already at Sparta. In fact the son of the bearer, Πωλλίων Ἰσοχρύσου, is an exact contemporary of the man whose record we are now considering, for he was πρέσβυς ἐφόρων (in v. 1, 62) under Ti. Cl. Atticus, whose year must, it seems, have been *ca.* A.D. 136; and his name is restored in v. 1, 107, a fragmentary list of uncertain identity. We may assume

[1] Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *s.v.* Cf. Tod, *International Arbitration*, p. 83.

[2] Cf. Roehl, *I.G.A.* 322, l. 10; *I.G.* ix. 1, 32, l. 38.

[3] I regret having had no opportunity of investigating ἐκβολή in the 'Rhodian Sea-Law.'

that Isochrysos the younger is the brother of Pollion. Κλέων, under whom he was Γερουσίας, is not previously known as an Eponymos, and is not identifiable among the many bearers of the name. Ἑρμογένης, of Hadrianic date, has already been mentioned as holding office later than Pius, whom we had in the previous inscription (cf. v. 1, 65, l. 23).

Ti. Claudius Aristoteles, whom we already know as Eponymos (v. 1, 68), and as πρέσβυς Γερουσίας (*ibid.* 109, under Timomenes), was also Ephor, under Avidius Biadas, as we shall see below (C 11). The latter, under whom Isochrysos was γυναικονόμος, is already well known in that capacity (v. 1, 71 B, ll. 8 and 24; 294, l. 2). The post of γυναικονόμος, known in Spartan inscriptions only from v. 1, 209, l. 10,[1] prior to the publication of a list of these officials from a year not before the edict of Caracalla (*B.S.A.* xiv. p. 123 f. = *I.G.* v. 1, 170), now appears in several of the inscriptions found at the theatre, in addition to the present text (see below, Nos. 1, B1 (β); 1, C 8; and No. 9).

References to events not strictly connected with the official careers of the holders of offices are not common in Spartan records of *cursus honorum*, though we have an interesting, and indeed unintelligible, one in C 4 below. Here, the victory of the Κονοουρεῖς to which reference is made must be in the Ball-game, for the διαβέτης was an official particularly connected with this contest[2]; and the phrase ἐνίκησαν δι' ἐτῶν τεσεράκοντα (*sic*) no doubt implies an event of unusual importance, which added lustre to this particular tenure of the post of διαβέτης. There appears to have been one διαβέτης for each of the six tribes at this period, but they did not serve as a Board, being, in fact, officials of the tribe, not of the State. The post was held early in one's career, on the evidence of the great majority of inscriptions which include the post in a *cursus honorum*.

The Κονοουρεῖς are known to have been the successful Obe in the Ball-game on two other occasions, namely, as recorded in v. 1, 681 and 684, one in the late second (?) and the other in the early third century, and we have an honorary statue-base erected to a single σφαιρεύς of the same tribe, M. Aur. Palaistreites (v. 1, 466). Δι' ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα might be naturally expected to mean during forty years, *i.e.* that in the year in question the tribe obtained its fortieth successive victory.

Other records, however, of victories gained by other tribes, namely, v. 1, 675, 676, 677, seem to belong to the very period covered by the presumed forty years before the post of διαβέτης was held by Isochrysos, for we have seen that Hermogenes belongs to the time of Hadrian, while No. 676 seems definitely Trajanic, and the other two may belong to that reign, or just before it. In the circumstances, I would suggest that the phrase can only mean that in this year the Konoöureis gained their first win for forty years; this interpretation seems to be consistent with a perfectly legitimate use of διά.[3]

[1] Omitted from Index to *I.G.* v. 1.

[2] Tod, *S.M.C.* Introdn., p. 15; Kolbe, *I.G.* v. 1, p. 14.

[3] Cf. Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* διά, ii. 2; *e.g.* Herod., vi. 118, δι' ἐτέων εἴκοσι ('after twenty years interval'); διὰ πολλοῦ, etc.

We have a valuable chronological clue in the reference to the mission to Hadrian at Nikopolis (the city founded by order of Augustus to commemorate the victory of Actium). The Emperor must have been there in 125 or 126 on his first visit to Greece, or on his second, presumably in the autumn of 128, on first landing from Italy. It is not an unlikely suggestion that the date of his second visit to Nikopolis coincided with the celebration of the Actian games, on the anniversary of the battle (September 2nd). If these were only held every four years, there should have been a celebration in 128, for their first performance took place in 28 B.C.[1] We have no means of telling which of the Emperor's visits was made the occasion of this voluntary embassy. For προῖκα, in a similar context, cf. *I.G.* v. 1, 1174; 1361, l. 12; *Syll.*[3] 833, l. 15. For the phrase ἐν θεοῖς, referring to the Emperor as no longer alive, I know no Greek parallel in any inscription. It is perhaps a translation from the Latin '*in deorum numero relatus*,' or '*receptus in deorum numerum*,' *e.g.* as found in connection with heroes of Roman legend at Pompeii (Dessau, *Ins. Lat. Sel.*, pp. 63, 64).

We have the same use of τ for δ in the Emperor's name in v. 1, 390, a rather surprising instance of a common practice in inscriptions of Imperial date; we may compare the same substitution in the name Ἀλάβαντα above. Examples are found, in Attic inscriptions, as early as the fifth century B.C., *e.g.* Ἀτραμυτηνός for Ἀδραμ—[2].

B 1. (α) Presumably an entry which has overflowed from an adjoining block either above or on the left. Κάρυκες are frequently recorded at Sparta, especially at the end of lists of officials who have been entertained, or in lists of Ταινάριοι (v. 1, 209, 210, 211, 212). Νικήφορος again appears, in the same capacity, at the end of a (mutilated) list of γέροντες, in E 3, below.

B 1. (β) Σώανδρος Τρύφωνος has been already met with in 1, A3, col. I, l. 3, above. The office of γυναικονόμος has been already discussed; another record of a Board of these magistrates is published below, No. 9. Their full strength seems to have numbered six (as in v. 1, 170). We have no other instance of the phrase κατὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη in a Laconian inscription, but on many occasions Spartan citizens are honoured for their devotion to the Lycurgan customs, and special officials existed, at any rate in the Antonine age, for expounding the tradition (cf. v. 1, Index, ix. *s.v.* ἔθος, where we have διδάσκαλοι ἀμφὶ τὰ Λυκούργεια ἔθη, etc.). For Νικοκράτης the Eponymos, see C 3 (α, β) below. Of his colleagues, Ἀρίστων Ἀφροδισίου may well be the father of Ἀφροδίσιος Ἀρίστωνος, a σφαιρεύς in the time of Trajan (v. 1, 676, l. 15). Φιλοκλίδας is not identifiable, though neither his name nor his father's is rare at Sparta. Γ. Ἰούλιος Φιλήτωρ is absolutely unknown, and we cannot identify his father with the Patronomos G. Julius Sosikrates of v. 1, 49, l. 15. Πάρις is also new to us at Sparta, though he may be brother of Νήδυμος Φιλοκάλου in v. 1, 153, which is also of Trajanic date. Ἄδμητος is likewise a new name at Sparta.

[1] Cf. Kolbe, *I.G.* v. 1, p. xvi. ll. 5 ff.

[2] Cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Gramm. Att. Inschr.* p. 79.

B 1. (γ) Ἀριστόδαμος is a Patronomos hitherto unknown. Seeing that the senior Ephor is the same Σώανδρος, and that the post of γυναικονόμος was usually held, as far as we can tell, by men of long experience in public life, it is probable that he held these posts within a few years of each other. Whether Aristodamos preceded or followed Nikokrates is unknown.

Why there are only four names of Ephors this year is unknown; and there is no obvious reason why the engraver should have left three blank lines, as though he had been expecting seven names in all, instead of the five required. None of the other names here are recognisable. Διοκλῆς might be father or grandfather (?) of Δαμοκράτης Διοκλέους, a victor at the Orthia Sanctuary about A.D. 150[1]; for Ἀντίπατρος, to whom he is κάσεν, see above, A 9, l. 5. Φίλιππος (Φιλίππου) is presumably not identical with the man of the same name who is Σιδέκτᾳ κάσεν in v. 1, 114 (a list of Gerontes which must be later than the middle of the second century); possibly the latter is his son. Κλεόμβροτος is not identifiable, the name only occurring once in inscriptions of the Imperial age (v. 1, 842, restored). Ἀγησικλείδας Δαμοκράτους is unknown, the former name being here met with for the first time in a Spartan text.

B 2. Κλεόδαμος, who here appears for the first time as Eponymos, was previously presumed to have served in that capacity, as twice we have someone described as κάσεν to him (v. 1, 61, l. 2; 102, l. 4). He seems to belong to the reign of Trajan, as far as can be seen.

Ἀγαθοκλῆς Στεφάνου must be distinguished from a namesake who held the same post (Nomophylax) under M. Ulpius Aphthonetos; and whose *cursus* we have in full (v. 1, 32 A); cf. No. 2 (γ) below. It seems most improbable that he could have served on this Board twice, at an interval of some twenty years, for Aphthonetos can hardly be earlier than A.D. 135. Τιμοκλῆς Θεοδώρου is known as having been also Γερουσίας τὸ β′ in the year of G. Julius Philokleidas (v. 1, 97, l. 18), which post is not likely to have preceded his membership of the Board of Nomophylakes. Thus Κλεόδαμος may be dated rather before than after Philokleidas. Μνάσων Πασικλέους, who served as ἀγωνοθέτης at the games in honour of Nerva, in 97 or 98, would probably have been Nomophylax not many years later. Γ. Ἰούλιος Λυσικράτης must be the Eponymos of whom we have records in v. 1, 55, and (presumably) 283, known also as πρέσβυς ἐφόρων in the year of Καλλικράτης Ῥούφου (v. 1, 53 dated by Kolbe to the reign of Trajan),[2] and now again found as Eponymos in B 6 below. Μνάσων (Μνάσωνος) is unknown, but possibly brother of the Eponymos Λύσιππος (Μνάσωνος) in v. 1, 36, l. 13; 36 B, l. 26; 60, l. 2; 65, l. 24. For the post of νομοδείκτης see above, A 5, l. 7. Ἀγαθοκλῆς appears in the same capacity below, C 3 (α), l. 7.

B 3. The name of the Eponymos was never cut on the stone, for some unknown reason. Little is known of the βίδυοι here recorded. We may,

[1] v. 1, 293, 493.

[2] I feel that the fresh evidence by no means strengthens Kolbe's arguments for dating him to the reign of Trajan; in view of B 8 below it seems we must put him considerably later.

however, restore the name of the first one in a list of *ἀγορανόμοι* (v. 1, 128, l. 8) as [Ἀγαθοκ]λῆς Εὐδαιμονίδα, and date him accordingly to the reign of Hadrian. None of his colleagues are known previously, though Μενεκλῆς Ἀρέος is found again below, in E 4, l. 3, as Ephor under Gorgippidas. Μένιππος is not a common name at Sparta, but this bearer of it is not identifiable.

B 4. (α) Σίτιμος Πρατονίκου is now known from four inscriptions in all. In v. 1, 153 he is one of a small list of unspecified officials; and in addition to being *γραμματεὺς* Βουλᾶς here, he is a member of the Gerousia in C 1 below (unknown year), and its president in E 2, in the year of G. Julius Agesilaos. Εὔκλητος, who is here Eponymos, is new in this capacity, but may be the Ephor Εὔκλ. Μελησίππου in v. 1, 20 B, l. 8. Sitimos, whose career seems to have lain in the time of Trajan, or even in part earlier, may be the father of Σείτιμος (Σειτίμου) who was Eponymos under Hadrian (v. 1, 32 B, l. 29 f.).

B 4. (β) Gives the names of the last three *βίδυοι* of an uncertain year, together with their Secretary, continuing the list from the block in the course above (C 4), *q.v.*

B 4. (γ) It is clear that the Patronomos here is the man who is also known as Δαμοκλῆς Δ. τοῦ καὶ Φιλοκράτους from a large number of inscriptions (v. 1, 32 B, gives his *cursus*; cf. also 36 B, 37,[1] 59, 60, 105, 138, 492).[2] The list of Ephors and Nomophylakes in the year of his son Damokles (IV) is recorded in v. 1, 65, for we can now supply his name as Eponymos there, by means of a newly-discovered text, also from the theatre, No. 2 (*β*) below. Most of the Ephors are already known. Γ. Ἰούλιος Σειμήδης Πολυεύκτου must be distinguished from the Simedes who was Eponymos (*temp.* Hadrian, v. 1, 101, 152) as his gentile name was apparently Ti. Claudius, but must surely be identified with the recipient of the statue-base, v. 1, 507 (cf. 588), to Γ. Ἰούλ. Σειμήδης Γ. Ἰουλ. Πολυεύκτου (which Kolbe dates to the end of the second century, on inadequate grounds). Εὔδαμος Νεικοκράτους is not recognisable. Γ. Ἰούλ. Δαμόκριτος Δαμοκράτους appears, but without this *praenomen* and *nomen*, in v. 1, 79, l. 10, as Nomophylax under Κλέανδρος, whose year seems to fall about the end of the first century,[3] and a colleague in this office as well is Ἑρμογένης Γλύκωνος, whom we know to have been Eponymos in the reign of Hadrian (v. 1, 65, l. 23, cf. p. 178 above). Ἀριστονεικίδας Μουσαίου, previously known from v. 1, 20 B, as Γερουσίας (year unknown), and from 36 B, ll. 30 ff. which gives his (incomplete) *cursus*,[4] now appears here as Ephor under Damokles, and also in B 5 as Biduos under Lysimachos, and in B 7 as *πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων* under Κλ. Περικλῆς (confirming v. 1, 36 B, l. 35 f.).

The relative position of this block, with the list of Ephors under Damokles, to that of the Nomophylakes under Perikles (B 7) would imply that the process of inscription went from left to right, and thus that Aristonikidas was Ephor

[1] Possibly refers to his son.
[2] He is Eponymos in 36, 105, 138.
[3] See E 5, below.
[4] Including his Ephorate under Δαμοκλῆς Φιλοκράτους.

(B 4 (γ)) earlier than Nomophylax (B 7), which is in fact confirmed by his *cursus* in v. 1, 36 B, where his Ephorate is recorded before his tenure of the post of Nomophylax. Whether he was Biduos in an intervening year, as seems probable, is not confirmed by his *cursus*. The name of the *νομοδείκτας*, Σωσίδαμος, is the same as in A 5, above, which must indicate that there is no great interval in date between the two stones.

B 5. The Eponymos Lysimachos, who probably held office in some year between Damokles (B 4 (γ)) and Perikles (B 7), is not known, except, presumably, as the man to whom, together with Μνάσων, two sons of Φιλοκλῆς, namely, Φιλοκλῆς and Φιλωνίδας, are *κάσεν* (v. 1, 68, 69, 70). Of the Board we cannot identify elsewhere either Πρατόνικος (Πρατονίκου) or Φίλων (Φίλωνος). Κλ. Περικλῆς appears as Eponymos in v. 1, 36, 41, 42, and B 7, below. Ἀριστονικίδας Μουσαίου has been dealt with above (B 4 (γ)), and Καλλίστρατος Τιμοκράτους, himself unknown, would seem to be the father of Τιμοκράτης Καλλιστράτου, who is Ephor in v. 1, 59, l. 7.

B 6. Κλέων Σωσικράτους is well known, having been Nomophylax under G. Julius Philokleidas (v. 1, 51, 52); *γραμματοφύλαξ* (year unknown, v. 1, 148, l. 3); Ephor (v. 1, 20 B, l. 7), and he was a competitor in the Leonidea (v. 1, 660). The Eponymos Γ. Ἰούλ. Λυσικράτης has been met with above as *νομοφύλαξ ἐπὶ* Κλεοδάμου (B 2, l. 4). Assuming that Κλέων held his present office at about the period when he was Nomophylax and Ephor, the date of Lysikrates will be, in all probability, the reign of Trajan, as was concluded by Kolbe (v. 1, 275, note). The ligatured symbol below is obscure.[1]

B 7. The Eponymos is Κλαύδιος Περικλῆς, who is already known in this capacity from v. 1, 36, 41, 42, and whom we found above, in B 5, acting as Biduos with Aristonikidas, who is here *πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων*. It is not easy to place him exactly in the series; on our fresh evidence he must be later than Damokles, and presumably later than Lysimachos, and on that of v. 1, 42 he was followed by Pratonikos.[2]

Σπαρτιάτης Δαμαρίστου confirms the correctness of Kolbe's restoration of his name in v. 1, 42, l. 18 f.; he is otherwise unknown. Νεόλας Ἀρχιάδα, himself unknown, may be father of - - Νεόλα in v. 1, 73, and of Ἀρχιάδας Νεόλα in v. 1, 473 (again confirming Kolbe's restoration).

Φίλιππος Ἀνθίππου is unknown, Ἄνθιππος appearing here for the first time. Θεόφιλος Ξενοκράτους is a member of the Gerousia in v. 1, 114, l. 9, which cannot be earlier than the middle of the second century, and is thus many years later than the year of Perikles.

B 8. Χάρης (Χάρητος), whose *cursus* we have here, is already known as Ephor in the year of Atticus (v. 1, 62, l. 4), and, as we shall see below, was

[1] Cf. E 4, below. Apparently Β ϕ Σ. In v. 1, 483 we have $\overset{\phi}{}_{\Sigma}$ and $\overset{\Psi}{}_{\text{NH}}$ below (my original copy, *B.S.A.* xv. p. 80, No. 85, reproduced in the *Corpus*, is inaccurate in these particulars).

[2] See below, note on 2 (δ).

πρέσβυς Γερουσίας in the year of Avidius Biadas (C 9). His name should also be restored in v. 1, 111, l. 3 instead of [Δι]άρης <. We can but regret that we are not told under what Eponymoi he held his various offices, nor whether they are even cited in the order in which he did so. Ἄλκαστος, to whom he is κάσεν, is well known, having been Nomophylax, Ephor, Patronomos, and High-Priest of the Sebastoi, etc. (cf. v. 1, Index I, *s.v.* Γ. Πομπώνιος Ἄλκαστος I.). Another example of a man being κάσεν to him is v. 1, 290, the unknown victor in the Scourging-Ordeal at the Orthia Sanctuary, in the year of Δεξίμαχος.[1]

Πρέσβυς Συναρχίας, for which parallels exist (v. 1, 37, l. 12; 480; 504, l. 16; 1505, l. 3), is nevertheless a post of which the duties are uncertain, though it seems plain that there was a Board of six σύναρχοι, who bore some close relation to the six Patronomoi.[2] Καλλικράτης Ῥούφου, who is already known as Eponymos (v. 1, 53, 276; and restored in 36 and 54), is dated by Kolbe to the reign of Trajan (53, note), though we find him as Nomophylax under Eudamidas in v. 1, 64, whose year seems to be not far from 150 (v. 1, 71 B, ll. 2 and 15). In favour of the later date (*ca.* 150), which I originally proposed for Kallikrates (*B.S.A.* xv. p. 58), I may now urge, not only the fact that for a Patronomos of the Trajanic age to be Nomophylax some thirty-five years later (under Eudamidas) seems improbable—though not of course impossible—but also the evidence of our present text, where Chares, who is clearly not recording his *cursus* in chronological order, is more likely to have given the name of the Eponymos, Kallikrates, under whom he held his latest post, than one in whose year he held an early office—as would be the case if we placed Kallikrates in the reign of Trajan; for we know that Chares' latest posts were held after rather than before A.D. 150. Kolbe's early date for him rests largely on his contention that G. Julius Lysikrates, who is πρέσβυς ἐφόρων under Kallikrates, is father, not son (as I hold), of G. Julius Charixenos, the Eponymos of a year not later (and perhaps earlier) than Hadrian's visit to Sparta in 128. Absolute proof is not yet attainable, but the case for the later date for Kallikrates seems much strengthened. If Chares was πρέσβυς Συναρχίας after his fifth year in the ranks of the Gerousia, Kallikrates must date at least three years later than Avidius Biadas, under whom he was πρέσβυς Γ. in his third year in that body.

This is not the first evidence that a man was ever Biduos more than once, for we have similar references in v. 1, 138 and 140. The post of Ἐπιμελητὴς Κορωνείας is known to have been held by three other persons (v. 1, 34, 36, 44), all of about the time of Hadrian, but we do not know what their duties were, nor why this Messenian town was for some time in the Imperial period under Spartan control (cf. v. 1, p. 269). For ταμίας cf. A 10, l. 5; and for σειτωνήσας, A 9 and 10.

B 9. Νεικάρων Ζήλου, whose name is a safe restoration, is already known as Ephor in v. 1, 59, l. 6, where the name of the Eponymos is restored by

[1] It is not impossible that Chares himself was the victor in this contest.

[2] Cf. Tod, *S.M.C.* Introdn., p. 9; Kolbe, *I.G.* v. 1, p. 21.

Kolbe as Hadrian (but, as we shall see, incorrectly); and perhaps he also occurs in a much damaged list (of Gerontes?), v. 1, 120, l. 4. Moreover, his father is very likely the Ζῆλος Ἀγαθονίκου who was a victorious σφαιρεύς before the end of the first century (v. 1, 676, l. 16).

Many of his posts are interesting, and demand brief notice. For the first, which is quite without parallel (ἐπιμελητὴς καύδου), I can only suggest that there is some error in engraving or orthography made by the lapidary. It seems quite impossible to find any place-name analogous to Koroneia as the scope of his ἐπιμέλεια, and I incline towards some form of κάδος, in the sense of ballot-box (cf. κάδδιχος, in Plutarch, *Lyc.* c. 12, and *I.G.* v. 1, 1447, l. 10, at Messene) rather than in its literal sense of vessel.[1] Καύδου for κάδου, though I cannot cite a parallel for the α becoming αυ, is not impossible, and would not be the only illiterate spelling in this series of documents.[2]

Χρεοφύλαξ, known already from v. 1, 32 B, l. 20, only, is a post for which parallels may be found in many Asiatic cities (Tod, *S.M.C.*, Introd. p. 15, and note on No. 204 II, the same stone), and as there, so also at Sparta he was 'the keeper of the archive for the deposit of private contracts and judicial decisions' (cf. also Dareste's article on the χρεωφυλάκιον, in *B.C.H.* vi. pp. 241 ff.).

Πράκτωρ τῶν ἀπὸ Εὐρυκλέους is another post entirely new to us. It must mean 'steward' or 'collector' of the estates of Eurykles, which presumably were held in trust, and the revenues from them devoted, we may suppose, partly to the celebration of the Eurykleia.[3]

His Ephorate, under Meniskos, enables us to supply correctly the name of the Eponymos in v. 1, 59, in which list he appears as Ephor. The first line preserved on this stone reads υἱὸς Αὐτοκράτορος Ἁδρια[νοῦ], restored by Kolbe [ἐπὶ πατρονόμ]ο[υ] Αὐτ. Ἁδρ., with which at first sight further evidence seemed to agree admirably. It is clear now that this list must be dated to the year of Meniskos, and some other explanation is required for the mention of the son of Hadrian, for we need not now emend υἱός, as Fourmont seems to have made a careful copy of this text throughout. The approximate date for Meniskos will be considered later. Στεφανίτης, a common term as an epithet of ἀγών, must here, it seems, mean that a crown was awarded to the subject of this inscription—not necessarily as victor in a festival, though, when used of persons, στεφανίτης seems a characteristic phrase with athletic associations (cf. *C.I.G.* 2931, Tralles; 5906, Rome, in each case ἱερονεῖκαι στεφανῖται).

[1] I am indebted to Mr. R. P. Austin for the suggestion that καύδου may = Καιάδου, the Spartan 'Barathron,' cf. Thucyd. 1, 134. But we cannot in any case be sure that this form of execution continued into Imperial times; nor is the version of the name very probable.

[2] *E.g.* τεσεράκοντα in A 12.

[3] For Eurykles, the friend and contemporary of Augustus, see E. Kjellberg, *Klio*, xvii. pp. 44 ff., who discusses all the known evidence. From Strabo viii. 363 we learn that Eurykles at one time owned the island of Kythera: perhaps some of his estates there were still the source of the revenues collected by this Πράκτωρ.

Χρεο(ω)νόμος is an official not hitherto met with at Sparta, and we cannot say how his duties were related to those of the χρεωφύλαξ, which Neikaron had earlier discharged. I can find no example of such a title in any inscription or text. Note in both words the *omikron* for *omega*.

Of his other posts, we need only notice that he was Ἀκτίων συνθύτης, *i.e.* sent by Sparta to offer sacrifice on her behalf at the Actian games at Nikopolis, of which mention has been made already (A 12, l. 6). This is the first reference in a Spartan inscription to this festival being attended, but we may compare συνθύτας εἰς Ῥόδον, in v. 1, 47, l. 4 f. The noun is not rare (cf. *Syll.*[3] 1051, 1117); and both συνθυσία and συνθύω are often found.

Of the Eponymoi under whom these posts were held, many are familiar names, but in determining their respective places in the series we must not assume too hastily that Neikaron is recording his posts in chronological order, for we have instances, in other records, to prove that this was not always the practice.[1] For many of his years of office, however, we can find the same Eponymoi recurring with varying intervals between them, practically in the exact order shewn here, and thus gain a strong presumption that the order is chronological. Thus for the first three, Sidektas, Sipompos, Sitimos, we may compare the order obtained by combining v. 1, 32 A, with 32 B, and 34, as follows :—

32 A.	32 B (II).	34.
Sidektas,	Sipompos,	Sidektas,
J. Charixenos,	Sitimos,	Sipompos,
Sitimos,	Aristoboulos,	J. Lysippos,
Aristoboulos,		Aristoboulos.

For the next four names compare the combination of A 9, above, with v. 1, 65 and C 5, below :

1, A 9.	v. 1, 65.	C 5.
Pius,	Pius,	Aristoboulos,
Aristoboulos,	Hermogenes,	Meniskos,
Onasiklidas,	Lysippos Mnasonos,	Theophrastos,
Eudamos.	Nikephoros,	Onasikleidas (*sic*),
	Damokles (D. *f.*).	Lycurgus.

Combining all this material we may feel certain that the order in which Neikaron held his posts agrees closely with the indications of these contemporary *cursus*, even if we must relinquish for the present a further attempt to work out an exact chronological sequence for the Eponymoi.[2] The following indications are, however, worth notice : the year of Aristoboulos must have been *ca.* 132–134, for, as I have already pointed out, Atticus[3] (who dates from

[1] *E.g.* D 2, below; clearly also in B 8, but without names of Eponymoi.

[2] My own attempt in *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 200 ff. would have to be expanded, and perhaps re-arranged a little, in view of the new material now brought to light; cf. below, p. 195, note on D 3.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 202.

at least two years after him) was dead by 137, and Meniskos, who is to be placed, probably, soon after Atticus, seems to have held office in a year in which some reference is made to the son of Hadrian. Whether this means L. Aelius Caesar, or Antoninus Pius, is obscure, but it suggests that Meniskos is to be placed either in 136, the year of the adoption of the former, or in 138, the year of Pius's accession. We have his *cursus* in v. 1, 32 B, ll. 18 ff., and he (or possibly his son?) appears again in No. 27 below, in an incomplete list of the Gerousia. Θεόφραστος is again found in C 5 below, likewise after Meniskos, but was not hitherto known as an Eponymos. It is very tempting to identify him (*pace* Kolbe) with Γ. Ἰούλιος Θεόφραστος, in v. 1, 167, even if he cannot be the same as his namesake in v. 1, 506, where the phrase used on his statue-base ἀξίως τῶν εὐτυχεστάτων καιρῶν seems to indicate a date under M. Aurelius and Verus.[1] For Ὀνασικλείδας, whom we found as Eponymos above, in A 9, see my comment (*ad loc.*). Δεξίμαχος must be distinguished from Δ. ὁ καὶ Νεικοκράτης in A 9, *init.*, but may be the Eponymos of v. 1, 290, where the victor is κάσεν to Alkastos, and therefore (not impossibly) may date from a year little later than Alkastos.

C 1. This list of twelve names followed by those of three officials must be the end of a list of the Gerousia, which began on a companion block on the left. Few of the names are familiar, but the associations, as far as they exist, are with persons of the reign of Trajan or even earlier. The list must be somewhat earlier than that of the Gerousia under Γ. Ἰούλιος Ἀγησίλαος (E 2, below), as Σίτιμος Πρατονίκου, in l. 3 of this list, is there πρέσβυς Γερουσίας. We have already found him as γραμματεὺς Βουλᾶς under Eukletos, B 4, above.

Δαμέας Ἀρχιάδα also appears below in E 2 under Agesilaos, and is a Nomophylax under Philokratidas (v. 1, 80, l. 4). Πασικλίδας Βιοδάμου is perhaps a descendant of Βιόδαμος . . . φάνεος, in v. 1, 93 (first century B.C.). Of the remaining persons, Φιλοκράτης Φιλοκλέους can hardly be identified with the boy of the same name who is in addition styled Ἀγησιλάῳ τῷ Νεόλα κάσεν, and was victor in the καθθηρατόριν in the year of Eukleidas (v. 1, 278), if we identify his Agesilaos with the Eponymos of E 2 below, and maintain the original assumption that a man was styled, from boyhood, κάσεν to an Eponymos. Either then there were two persons named Φιλοκράτης Φιλοκλέους, or two Patronomoi named Agesilaos, or—and this is not after all impossible—the old theory of the meaning of κάσεν must be given up.[2]

Ἀγησίνικος Νεόλα seems likely to be brother of Ἀγησίλαος Νεόλα, mentioned above. Δαμοκλῆς Καλλικράτους is perhaps father of Καλλικράτης Δαμοκλέους, an Ephor in the year of Hadrian (v. 1, 1314, II, l. 3), and not impossibly father of Δαμοκλῆς ὁ καὶ Φιλοκράτης, whom we have already discussed. The γραμματεὺς Βουλᾶς, Πολύευκτος Σιμήδους, must be a relative, perhaps the father, of Γ. Ἰούλ. Σειμήδης Πολυεύκτου, whom we find in v. 1, 507.[3]

[1] See note *ad loc.* I am not convinced that this absolutely proves the later date.

[2] I hope to re-examine this question on some future occasion.

[3] There is no need to date him (with Kolbe) to the end of the second century.

None of the other persons can be identified, and several of the names are hitherto unknown at Sparta, viz. Γραφικός, Βυζάνιος, Θέλγων, and Κεχαρισμένος. The first of these is common at Athens under the Empire (cf. *I.G.* iii., Index, about a dozen times.)

C 2. From its position, this list of Ephors must also date from the time of Trajan, which makes it impossible for us to identify the Eponymos Spartiatikos with (P. Memmius) Spartiatikos whom we find in v. 1, 85 (cf. 71, III. l. 1), and who belongs to the reign of Antoninus Pius.

He may very well be Τι. Κλ. Σπ., son of Brasidas, who is not hitherto known as Eponymos, but may have served early in the second century, cf. v. 1, p. 131 (*stemma*). Of the Ephors, the only one recognisable is Πωλλίων Ῥούφου, who must be identical with Γ. Ἰούλ. Π. Ῥ., who is Secretary to the Boule in the year of Philokleidas (v. 1, 97, l. 25). The names Θεοκλύμενος and Κλύμενος are new at Sparta.[1] Φίλιππος Σωκράτους is only the second Spartan known to style himself π λ(ε)ιστονίκης, the first being P. Ael. Damokratidas, to whom some half-dozen inscriptions refer (cf. v. 1, Index vi. 3, *s.v.*).

C 3. (α) The Patronomos must be Δεξίμαχος ὁ καὶ Νεικοκράτης of A 9, *init.*, who, we saw, is to be dated to the reign of Trajan. Of the Ephors, Μενεκλῆς Κλεοδάμου may well be the former Eponymos, whose year fell in *ca.* 97 A.D. (cf. v. 1, 667, etc.); Τ. Κλαύδ. Ἀγαθοκλῆς must be distinguished from the later Μ. Κλαύδ. Ἀγαθοκλῆς, Ephor in v. 1, 59, and Nomophylax in v. 1, 65. For Ἀντίπατρος, to whom he was κάσεν, see above, A 9, l. 5; and for another κάσεν of his, Διοκλῆς (Διοκλέους), B 1 (γ).

The others are unknown, and Deinokratidas is not previously known at Sparta.[2]

C 3. (β) The President of the Board is presumably P. M. Deximachos I. (cf. v. 1, p. 117, *stemma*), father of P. M. Seidektas, who was Eponymos in the time of Hadrian (above, p. 188). Of the others, all are hitherto unknown, unless—as is not unlikely—Δίων (Δίωνος) is the same as Π. Αἴλιος Δίων, who is Ephor (under Damokles) [3] in v. 1, 65, l. 10. The meaning of l. 7 is mysterious, unless we are to infer that Deximachos was the Βουαγός of his year, and that the other members of the Board were his συνέφηβοι, which would tend to overthrow the accepted theory that a Spartan was συνέφηβος to the Eponymos. This complicated question must be passed over for the present, and could only be discussed in connection with the interpretation of κάσεν.

C 4. Unluckily too much is lost, through damage to the stone, for us to restore what is an unusually interesting passage in ll. 2–3. The use of ἐφ' ὧν shews that two Eponymoi are concerned, presumably because the Biduoi in question held office for two successive years—a practice for which we have

[1] Cf. Θεοκλύμενος, the Homeric seer, and as a name in the Imperial period, Τ. Κλ. Θεοκλύμενος on a tomb at Rome, *C.I.G.* 6606. Κλύμενος is found at Kos, Paton-Hicks, *Inscript. of Kos*, No. 10 (= *G.D.I.* 3624) *b*, l. 72; at Orchomenos, *I.G.* vii. 3224; and cf. Κλυμενίδας at Knossos, *Syll.*[3] 720, ii. 721, l. 55.

[2] I cannot trace the name elsewhere; Δεινοκράτης is not a rare name.

[3] See 2 (8) below, enabling us to restore his name as Eponymos here.

no certain parallel.[1] We have an approximate indication of the original length of ll. 1–5 as consisting of not less than thirty-four letters, perhaps a few more, to judge by l. 5; but even so the sense of ll. 2–3 is irrecoverable. Whether we should read πᾶν τ[ὸ - - or πάντ[ες - - is quite uncertain; in l. 3 apparently ἐνέ - (μετέ -)βησαν Διονυσίδες δεκαδύο δε - - - and finally - - νου. The Dionysides must be the maiden votaries of Dionysos whom we know from Pausanias to have worshipped at the shrine of D. Kolonatas, and competed in a foot-race in connection with the festival.[2] He, however, expressly mentions their number as having been eleven, usually regarded as having consisted of ten and a leader.[3] Why twelve are mentioned here, and exactly what they did, is an insoluble problem. We must note, moreover, that both in Pausanias and in Hesychios they are called Διονυσιάδες, which seems to indicate an error in the engraving of our stone. I have no suggestion to make for completing the phrase, nor for the word ending in - νου.

Στέφανος, the President, is not known, nor is Εὐδαμίδας Ἀγαθοκλέους ὁ καὶ Πο . . . . . τομ- -, for whom the '*signum*' is not easy to recognise. Nor can we identify Καλλικράτης Ἀρχίππου, though he might be son of an Archippos, who is Nomophylax under P. Aelius Dionysios in v. 1, 82 (early in the reign of Hadrian).

The last three names, together with that of the γραμματεύς, are continued below, on block B 4, which indicates that it was not engraved at the time they engraved the course above. Νικοκράτης (Νικοκράτους) Σιμήδει κάσεν is also known as πρέσβυς σφαιρέων in v. 1, 674, l. 3, and as πρ. Γερουσίας in the year of P. Memm. Pratolaus (v. 1, 101). His namesake, N. Νικάρχου (an almost certain restoration), is Γερουσίας in v. 1, 103, l. 13 (perhaps about the end of Trajan's reign). The other persons are quite unknown.

C 5. We cannot restore the name of the subject of this *cursus*. For the Eponymoi, see my notes on B 9, whence it will be clear that this *cursus* belongs, like it, to the end of the reign of Hadrian, and the early years of his successor. In l. 5 there seems just room to complete the name [Ὀν]ᾳσικλείδας, whom we have seen above as following soon after Theophrastos; Λυκοῦργος θεός is of the utmost interest, for it proves beyond question that the Eponymos of the name, known already to have held office not later than the middle of the second century, was after all the Divine Lycurgus. A list of Ephors and Nomophylakes of this year is already known (v. 1, 66; duplicate list of former in 67), from the contents of which, though mutilated, we can be certain that the same official year is referred to as in our present text. In v. 1, 66 one of the Ephors is Νεικάσιππος Εὐημέρου, who appears in v. 1, 59 as Nomophylax in the year of Meniskos (*v. supra* B 9), and it accords with the usual practice

[1] Χάρης (Χάρητος) in B 8 refers to his having been βίδεος δίς, πρέσβυς γενόμενος ἅπαξ (but not necessarily in consecutive years).

[2] iii. 13, 7; Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, p. 298; Wide, *Lak. Kulte*, p. 160.

[3] Hitzig-Blümner suspect (rightly in my opinion) a disturbance of the text here, as the phrase τὰς δὲ ἄλλας is not intelligible as it stands.

for an Ephor to have been Nomophylax a few years earlier. It is also now clear that the year of Lycurgus mentioned in A 3–5, l. 2, cannot possibly be the same as that here under consideration, for we saw that all the chronological associations of the persons found in that list agree with the date of Trajan for it, and the Lycurgus there mentioned must have held office six years earlier (at least) than L. Volussenus Aristokrates, who is Eponymos therein.

C 6, 7. A list in three columns, much damaged at the top of each, which runs across two blocks, the second column astride the joint. From cols. II and III we find that this is a duplicate, as far as it goes, of the list of Gerontes, from which the first six names are omitted, in v. 1, 20 B.

We can thus restore the first three names of our second column, and in turn add five names to those there lacking. Unluckily we still lack the name of the Eponymos, but the fresh evidence all confirms his date as falling in the reign of Trajan, and between the years of Philokleidas (E 1) and Aristokrates (A 3–5).

Col. I, l. 1, hopeless. L. 2, Λ. Κανείνιος . . . . . δας, το γ′ is not restorable. The only bearers of the *nomen* Caninius are named Aristonikos and Euporos (v. 1, p. 58, *stemma*), and we must now add Γν. Κανίνιος Πολλίας in D 3, below. In l. 3 traces of the initial A indicate the restoration Ἀ[ρμ]ό[νικος], the same man who appears, without patronymic, in v. 1, 97, l. 15. The alternative Δαμονίκης must be ruled out, as he is found as Nomophylax in 20 B, l. 10, and obviously could not be simultaneously one of the Gerousia. This involves our distinguishing this Tib. Cl. Harmonikos from the son of Pleistoxenos, who is honoured in v. 1, 485.[1] Καλλικράτης Νεικάρχου is likely to be brother of Νικοκράτης Νεικάρχου, whom we have met with as Biduos in C 4, above, and one of the Gerousia in v. 1, 103, l. 13. Ἀλεξίμαχος Σωτηρίχου is likewise a member of the Gerousia in v. 1, 97, l. 16, for the first time, thus confirming that this list is a trifle later than the other. Θεόδωρος Θεοκλέους is well known, as son-in-law of the Patronomos Philokratidas (v. 1, 481, cf. 80), and as a member of an unidentified Board (*ibid.*, 147); moreover, we find him as Ephor under Ἰούλιος Κλέανδρος in E 5, below.

For the remaining names, of which the order agrees exactly with that in 20 B, from Χαλεῖνος onward, there are a few small points to note:

Παρδαλᾶς Θεοκλέους (brother of Theodoros?) is here τὸ β′.

Νείκιππος (Νεικίππου) is here Εὐρυκλεῖ κάσεν. (For another κάσεν of his see v. 1, 103, l. 8, Ἀριστομένης (Ἀριστομένους).)

Κλέων (Κλέωνος) is here, as in v. 1, 99, l. 6, Τεισαμενῷ κάσεν.[2]

Ἱεροκλῆς (Ἱεροκλέους) is here Ἀττικῷ κάσεν, but in v. 1, 97, l. 21 appears as Ἐννμαντιάδᾳ κ., presumably by a confusion with the previous entry.

For further items in the career of Aristonikidas son of Mousaios see above, B 4 (γ), B 5, B 7.

[1] Also found in 275 as Deputy-Patronomos, and honoured in 480. A Τι. Κλ. Δαμόν(ε)ικος appears in E 1, l. 13 below.

[2] For another κάσεν of Tisamenos see v. 1, 103, l. 12 (Σωσίβιος ⟨⟩).

The genitive of Θόας proves to be Θόα, though Θόαντος is more usual.[1]

Μένανδρος proves to have *praenomen* and *nomen*, G. Julius.

The Secretary, Τιβ. Κλα. Νεόλαος, is son of Pratomelidas, a name again found in E 3, l. 6, below, a fragmentary list of Gerontes.

C 8. The same man, Γ. Ἰούλιος Βοιώτιος, records his *cursus*, including his tenure of the post of γυναικονόμος, in No. 6, below, where his date is discussed (*ca.* A.D. 150).

C 9, 10. On two adjoining blocks, of which that on the right is engraved in smaller and more cramped lettering. A list of twenty-three Gerontes and a Secretary of the Boule, of the year of (Γ. Ἀβίδιος) Βιάδας. Date, *ca.* A.D. 150. This list is, with a few exceptions, a duplicate of the list of Gerontes of the year of Cl. Sejanus (v. 1, 111), which is in the Sparta Museum (No. 787). It is not easy to explain the coincidence, except on the supposition that, for some reason, there were no elections of the Gerousia held, and that the two Eponymoi occupied successive years. That their years fell very close together is known from the entries in v. 1, 71, col. III, and there is the further striking coincidence that, in the contests at the Orthia Sanctuary, the same boy-victor (Γ. Ἰούλ.) Λύσιππος Φιλοχαρείνου records his success in the καθθηρατόριν under Cl. Sejanus, and in the same contest, as well as in the μῶα, under Biadas (v. 1, 292 and 294 respectively,[2] both as βοναγὸρ μικκιχιδδομένων).

The present list enables several corrections to be made in the published one (v. 1, 111). Thus in l. 3 there we must now read Χάρης (Χάρητος), and in l. 6, Σωσικράτης Ἐπαφροδίτου instead of Σώτου. The next entries in No. 111 indicate a deep confusion, due to careless copying of the original document by the engraver. Not only has he left out entirely the two names Νεικιππίδας Μενεμάχου and Ἰούλιος Λύκιος, but after his 'Σώτου' for Ἐπαφροδίτου in l. 6 he continues

ΙΟΝΕΑΣ . ΩΣΙΚ ΙΛΙΟΥ ////// = Ἰού(λιος) Νέας [Σ]ωσικράτους,

and in l. 8 has Καλλικράτης Σ[ωκ]ράτ[ους]; thenceforth the lists agree, as far as v. 1, 111 is preserved (l. 18; an initial O—which should be Φ—alone survives from l. 19). Julius Neas is Ephor (under Cl. Aristoteles) in v. 1, 68, l. 17. I cannot explain the letters ΜΟΣ here put after his name.[3]

Of the names which the new stone enables us to add, we can now confirm Μᾶρκος Νεικηφόρου in l. 15, and Μνάσων Λυσίππου in l. 17. Καλλικράτης (Καλλικράτους) must be distinguished from his namesake in 71, col. III, as the latter is γερουσίας ἐπὶ Σπαρτιατικοῦ, and does not mention in his *cursus* having served in the year of Biadas.

Φιλωνίδας Ἀγίωνος may possibly be son of Ἀγίων, whose *cursus* we had in

[1] Θόας (Θόα) occurs once in the Imperial period at Athens, *I.G.*, iii. 1128, l. 165.

[2] Kolbe distinguishes them, but possibly Lysippos competed a year under age (under Sejanus), and again the next year; the absence of *praenomen* and *nomen* from one of the two is not a serious objection.

[3] Tod's reading, *S.M.C.* 787, l. 6 is ΝέαsΜΟΣΙΦ - ?, which is, in view of the new text, preferable to the *Corpus* reading, though Νέασμος seems a most unlikely name.

A 9 above, but the other Philonidas is not known. Φιλοκλῆς (Φιλοκλέους) we know also as Ephor under Cas(cellius) Aristoteles, v. 1, 69, 70, 71 (cf. E 7, below), where we learn that he was also *κάσεν* to Μνάσων and Λυσίμαχος. Εἰσιγένης Στρατονείκου is unknown, neither name occurring in v. 1; for names derived from Isis, at Sparta, cf. Εἰσίων, v. 1, 199 B. Γοργίων Κλεοβούλου is *πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων*, under the same Aristoteles, in v. 1, 69, 71, l. 23 f.; Ἰούλιος Πρόκλος is unknown. The Secretary, P. Memmius Damares, is almost certainly the son of P. M. Sidektas, Eponymos under Hadrian (see B 9, l. 1, and cf. v. 1, 536), and himself Ephor under Eudamos (v. 1, 61).

C 11. It is interesting to observe that Biadas here is given his *praenomen* and *nomen*, though they are omitted from the previous list. The origin of Avidius in this connection is attributed by Kolbe (v. 1, 663, *à propos* of Γ. Ἀβίδιος Ἀγαθάγγελος) to C. Avidius Nigrinus, who was, it seems, in charge of Achaia under Trajan, and later took a prominent part in the conspiracy against Hadrian in 118.[1] His brother T. Avidius Quietus was also *proconsul Achaiae*, apparently in 95 A.D.,[2] but in view of the *praenomen*, the Spartan Biadas is likelier to derive his citizenship from the later Governor, C. Avidius Nigrinus.

Several of the Ephors are already known, though we do not meet with the first name, for certain, elsewhere. I suggest, however, that Εὐβαβερίσκος Διογένους may be identical with the Nomophylax (*anni incerti*) in v. 1, 90, where we have Εὐβαβε - -; and we may compare, as a possible relative, Eubaberos in v. 1, 154. Δαμόνικος (Δαμονίκου) τοῦ Εὐτύχου is ἔνσιτος (ἐπὶ Δαμοκλέους) in v. 1, 65,[3] Γερουσίας (*anni incerti*, v. 1, 112, l. 5), and *πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων* under Memmius Spartiaticus in v. 1, 85. Κλαύδιος Ἀριστοτέλης is Eponymos in v. 1, 68, and *πρέσβυς γερόντων*, ἐπὶ Τιμομένου[ς?], in 109; he must not be confused with Κασ(κέλλιος) Ἀριστοτέλης, for whom see E 7, below. Εὔδαμος Μενίσκου, hitherto unknown, may be brother of the Eponymos Meniskos (above, B 9 and C 5). Finally, Καλλικράτης Εὐδαμίδα ΜΩΛΟΧΙΟΣ is a familiar puzzle. He is known from v. 1, 74 (a list of Biduoi?) without his title, and from 85, ll. 13 ff. as Kall. Eud. ΜΩΛΟΧΙΣ (in a list of Nomophylakes just referred to, of whom Damonikos is President). We at any rate learn that Μωλόχιος is the more correct form of the word, but I can make no confident suggestion as to its meaning.[4]

From the position of the text, it seems that a decision was taken not to carry the inscriptions further eastward, and consequently it does not mean

[1] Cf. A. von Premerstein, *Die Attentat der Consulare gegen Hadrian* (*Klio, Beiheft* viii.).

[2] *Syll.*[3], 822, notes 1 and 2; cf. 827, note 1.

[3] See No. 2 (*β*), below.

[4] We seem to get no help from Suidas, who says, '*Μωλόχιον, λαχανηρὸν γένος*'; nor from Hesychios, who, *s.v. μωλύχιον*, says, '*ἔνθα Λυκοῦργος τὸν Κορυνήτην ἀνεῖλε τόπος*'; nor again from the Arcadian festival Μώλεια, Schol. *ap.* Apoll. Rhod. *Arg.* 1, 164. Is the connection rather to be sought in the root *μωλυ*—(cf. Hesychios, '*μωλύεται = γηράσκει*,' and '*μωλυρὸν = νωθρόν, βραδύ*') and *-λόχος*, *i.e.* 'late-born' or 'posthumous'? It is clearly not a *signum* or alternative name, but some distinctive title. (*Dijudicent periti !*)

that these two lists of the year of Biadas are the latest of the series. In fact, among the fallen blocks from the west end of the wall is a list of later date (E 7, Ephors under Cascellius Aristoteles).

D 3. (D 1 and 2 are blank.) Γν. Κανίνιος Πολλίας is here met with for the first time. For Caninius, a rare *nomen* at Sparta, cf. C 6 above. Πολλίας is even rarer (once only, in v. 1, 212, l. 14, an early list).

The Patronomoi are all known, but raise an interesting question, namely, that of the date of Καῖσαρ, *i.e.* Hadrian. We must first compare this series with that in A 9, above, where we have Pratonikos, Damonikidas, Polyeuktos, Aristokles, etc.; and with v. 1, 40, where we have Pratonikos, Damonikidas, Polyeuktos, (Jul.) Sosikrates, and Pasikrates; and then with v. 1, 42, which gives us Perikles, Pratonikos. We can to some extent re-establish the series, thus: Perikles, Pratonikos, Damonikidas, Polyeuktos, Aristokles, Caesar, Sosikrates, Pasikrates, the relative order of the last four being conjectural. Other names have to be fitted in, but need not concern us now.[1] In any case it is plain that in our present text the order is wrong as between Polyeuktos and Damonikidas, and that therefore Pollias was Biduos before he was Γερουσίας τὸ β'. It is further clear that this series belongs to the first quarter of the second century, and not, as I once tried to prove, to the third quarter (*B.S.A.* xv. 59, cf. v. 1, 40, note).

The date of Hadrian's patronomate is a vexed question, which our new text does not much elucidate. He is referred to in this capacity in v. 1, 32, 33 and 1314, and now here, but in no case can we confidently place him in the series. Kolbe is perhaps right in making him act as Eponymos on one of his two visits to Sparta (125 and 128), but I am not even now convinced that he may not have been elected early in his reign.[2]

E 1. This gives us another copy of the first half only, of the list of Γέροντες ἐπὶ Γ. Ἰου(λίου) Φιλοκλείδα, which we have already in v. 1, 97. As the latter is damaged, we can correct some of the restorations which are mistaken.

L. 2, Διοκλεῖς for Διο[φάν]ης; l. 3, Τιβ. Κλ. Νικ[ιππί]δας should be Νικ[οκλί]δας; l. 8, Σώανδρος Τρύφωνος for Τ[ιμί]ωνος. L. 12: we have here Ἀριστοκράτης Καλλικράτους, but in 97, Ἀριστοκλῆς; the latter perhaps is more correct, as in l. 24 we have Ἀριστοκλῆς Καλλ. νεώτερος. L. 13 can now be restored as Τ. Κλα(ύδιος) Δαμόνεικο[ς] (probably not the Τ. Κλαύδιος Δαμονίκης of v. 1, 20 B, l. 10 unless there is an error of the engraver).

Note also that only three members have recorded after their names the number of times they had served, whereas in 97 nearly all those in their third and second years—and one in his first—add the numeral after their name.

E 2. The Eponymos Γ. Ἰούλιος Ἀγησίλαος is doubtless the man known as ἀγωνοθέτης in *ca.* A.D. 97 (v. 1, 667), and to whom Φιλοκράτης Φιλοκλέους is κάσεν (v. 1, 278); the latter is probably Μ. Ἀνθέστιος Φ. in l. 4 of our present

[1] See above, p. 178.

[2] As I tried to show, *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 200 ff., esp. p. 205 f.

list, and father, without doubt, of Δαμίων, who is a boy-victor under Lakon the younger (v. 1, 281). We have already found him as a member of the Gerousia in C 1, above, in a list which must be slightly earlier than ours.

Σείτειμος Πρατονείκου has occurred already, as γραμ. Βουλῆς ἐπὶ Εὐκλήτου (B 4 α), and in the Gerousia, with Philokrates, in C 1 (*q.v.*). Κόϊντος (Κοΐντου) Μενεκλεῖ κάσεν is Ephor under Gorgippidas below (E 4), but otherwise unknown. Menekles here concerned must be the Eponymos of v. 1, 567, and presumably in 78, l. 3 f.; in 277 we have another κάσεν of his.[1]

Θεογένης (Θεογένους) κάσεν to Aristokrates and Damares is found here, and in E 10, below, a list of Biduoi, where he is only Ἀριστοκράτει κ. (not also Δαμάρει). It is perhaps the same man who is Ἀριστοκράτει κάσεν in the list of Nomophylakes under P. Ael. Dionysios (v. 1, 82, *ca.* the middle of Hadrian's reign). Aristokrates will be, therefore, the Eponymos found in v. 1, 32 B, l. 6 f.[2] Whether Damares is L. Volussenus D. or P. Memmius D. is hard to decide.[3]

Λ. Ἀπρώνιος Ἀκίνδυνος in v. 1, 55 may be son of this L. Apr. Praximenes, and a later descendant might be L. Apr. Euelpistos (v. 1, 564, l. 8), but otherwise the *nomen* is not found at Sparta. For Δαμέας Ἀρχιάδα, previously Γερουσίας in an earlier year, see C 1, above.

E 3. A much-damaged block, with a blank portion on left, and damaged above. It has an *anathyrosis* ·16 m. wide, distant (on centre) ·61 from r. end. Its identification as from a list of Gerontes is not quite certain. L. 1, Εὔδαμος Σ- not identifiable, as the name is common. L. 2, Κλαύδιος Ἀγήμων, ἀγωνοθέτης in A.D. 97 (v. 1, 667), and apparently πρέσβυς (ἐφόρων) in v. 1, 58. L. 3, Τ. Κλαύδιος Ἁρμόνεικος, if correctly restored, is one of the two namesakes whom we mentioned above, C 6–7, l. 3. L. 4, Καλλικράτης Δαμονίκου appears also in v. 1, 80 B, l. 7, as Nomophylax in the year of Philokratidas (under Trajan, or just before?). I cannot account for the φ before his name, unless it be really the remains of Φ for [γρ(αμματεὺς) Β]ου(λῆς). L. 5, Sosidamos is probably the νομοδείκτης whom we met with in A 3–5 and B 4 (γ). I cannot elucidate the symbols which follow his name. In l. 6, Εὐδόκιμος Πρατομηλίδα may be presumed to be brother of Τιβ. Κλα. Νεόλαος Πρατομηλίδα, γραμ. Βουλᾶς in C 7 (γ), above. The κῆρυξ, Νικήφορος Νικοστράτου is the same as in B 1 (α), above.

E 4. Gorgippidas, in whose year Νεικίας Ἀριστοκρατίδα and his colleagues were Ephors, is hitherto unknown as Eponymos, and apparently cannot be identical with either of the other bearers of the name (*I.G.* v. 1, 94, l. 18—too early; 109, l. 16—too late?). Nor can I trace the πρέσβυς, Νεικίας. In l. 3, Τ. Τρεβελληνὸς Μενεκλῆς Ἀρέος, whom we might expect to be son of Τ. Τρ. Ἀρεὺς Πολεμάρχου in v. 1, 20 B, l. 7, is only known from B 3 above. The latter,

[1] Πρῖμος Νηρέος, twice victor at the Orthia Sanctuary.

[2] And presumably L. Volussenus Aristokrates of A 3–5 above.

[3] Preferably the latter, as we have no knowledge of any Spartan having been κάσεν to a father and son together.

being πρέσβυς ἐφόρων, might have served in that capacity within quite a few years of his son being an ordinary member of the Board. Κόϊντος (Κοΐντου), whom we have just had as Γερουσίας τὸ γ′ under Agesilaos (E 2, l. 3) must have held these offices within a few years of each other, though we cannot tell in which order. Δαμοκράτης Φιλέρωτος is known only as having been Γερουσίας τὸ γ′ under Philokleidas (v. 1, 97 = E 1, l. 6). Finally, Λάμπις is probably the Eponymos of v. 1, 33 (just before Hadrian), and 137, l. 16. It is accordingly clear that Gorgippidas is to be placed in the series of Eponymoi not far from Philokleidas and Agesilaos, soon after the beginning of the second century.

E 5. Ἔφοροι ἐπὶ Γα. Ἰουλίου Κλεάνδρου. The Eponymos may well be the father of Ἄγις Κλεάνδρου, to whom the victor Damion, son of Antistius Philokrates in v. 1, 281, is κάσεν; this would make their fathers approximately contemporary. The only other known member of this Board is Θεόδωρος Θεοκλέους (Γερουσίας τὸ β′ in C 6, l. 7 = v. 1, 20 B, above, *q.v.*).

Ἡρᾶς, father of Aristokrates, is only found once, for certain, in *I.G.* v. 1, 1398, l. 82 (at Koroneia); the name is paralleled by Ἀρτεμᾶς (No. 9, below), Ἀσκλαπᾶς, Ἡρακλᾶς, etc., which are known more frequently in Laconia and elsewhere.[1] Πρατόνεικος Σειτίμου might be father, rather than son of Σείτιμος Πρατονείκου, in B 4 (α), etc., above. The κῆρυξ, Μάξιμος, is also unknown.

E 6. The remains preserved, with the unusual name K. Βείβιος—in the last line—make it certain that this fragment is from a list of the Ephors under G. Julius Philokleidas, of which we have already two examples, in v. 1, 51 and 52. Note that the engraver has had to add the ε or ι later, and that of the previous copies of this list, one spells the name Οὐίβιος, the other Βείβιος. The names being already known, further comment is superfluous.

E 7. Enough is preserved to prove this to be the right-hand portion of the list of Nomophylakes in the year of Κασκέλλιος Ἀριστοτέλης. We have a copy already, in v. 1, 69, but learn here for the first time that his *nomen* was Cascellius, the abbreviation Κασ. having been previously taken for Κάσσιος. We have no other Spartans who bear this rare name, the origin of which is not easy to explain.[2] In connection with the name Perikles in l. 6, Mr. Tod has pointed out (*J.H.S.*, xxxiv (1914), p. 61) that the abbreviation Π̄Μ̄ in v. 1, 69, l. 34 and 71 *b*, l. 37, should be expanded to Πομ(πήϊος) or possibly Πομ(πώνιος), not Πό. Μέ(μμιος).

E 8. None of the names of this list of Nomophylakes can be completed. In l. 2 we should expect six letters to be lost before -στρατος, but it is hard to find a suitable name; whereas many names so terminating, and with five letters missing, can be supplied (Ἀγησίστρατος, Καλλί-, Μνασί-, Νεικό-, for example).[3] In l. 4 we must avoid restoring Δαμόνικος⟨, as he is πρέσβυς

[1] Ἡρᾶς, at Tenos, *I.G.* xii. 5, 875, l. 23 (third century B.C.).

[2] No likely clue is afforded by the Cascellii in *Prosop. Imp. Rom.* There is also a Κασκέλλιος Ποντικός at Ephesus in A.D. 120, *Syll.*[3], 833, l. 14.

[3] The letters may have been spaced wider than in l. 1.

νομοφυλάκων in v. 1, 85, which may be much later than this stone. (Had he possibly a grandfather of the same name?)

E 9. This cannot be the beginning of the previous fragment, as the type of lettering is different.

E 10. The Eponymos must be P. Memmius Deximachos I (v. 1, p. 117, *stemma*), the father of the Eponymoi P. Memmius Sidektas and Pratolaos II, not hitherto known as Eponymos. If we date him a generation before Sidektas (*i.e. ca.* 95–100) we shall not be far from the truth; and confirmation is furnished by our finding that Ἀριστονικίδας Εὐτυχίδα, the πρέσβυς βιδέων here, is Γερουσίας τὸ γ′ in v. 1, 97, l. 5; and also that the last name on the list, Διογένης (Διογένους), is one of the Gerousia in the year of Agesilaos, E 2, above, both of which lists are likely to be slightly later than our present list. Νικανδρίδας Εὐνόου is altogether unknown. Lines 5, 6 were never inscribed; for another list left partly blank, see B 1 (γ), above.

E 11. The identification of this as a list of βίδυοι is merely tentative, and rests on the hypothesis that the name in l. 5, which ends in -χρύσου, was that of Πωλλίων Ἰσοχρύσου, not unlikely in itself, as names with a similar ending are very rare. Accepting this, we find that a similar length of line is given by restoring Εὐκλείδας Δεινάκωνος in l. 3, which is tempting, in view of the rarity of genitives ending in -κωνος among our names. Now both these men are known already as Ephors, the former in v. 1, 51 under Philokleidas, the latter (πρέσβ. ἐφόρων) under Atticus, in v. 1, 62. Even if the latter text be some twenty years later, it does not offer a fatal objection, as the President of the Board of Ephors would be a person of very senior standing. The restoration ἔφοροι not being available, βίδυοι seems preferable to νομοφύλακες, as we have only eighteen or nineteen letters to supply before ὧν πρέσβυς, which leaves only an impossibly short name-space after ἐπί. Accepting this rather bold but not improbable conjecture, we should date this text also to the reign of Trajan, in its early years.

E 12. This is the only certain *cursus honorum* found among the fallen blocks. Ἐπάγαθος Σωκράτους, to whom it refers, does not figure on any of the stones, either *in situ* in, or fallen from, this wall, but may well have appeared in some lost list. We only know him elsewhere as πρέσβυς σφαιρέων in v. 1, 676, under Agathokles son of Kleophantos. His date seems to be in the reign of Trajan (Kolbe, *ad loc.*) or perhaps a few years earlier. The Eponymoi under whom Epagathos held his posts are, with one exception, familiar names. Δεξίμαχος is probably the same as P. Memmius D., whom we have above in E 10, for he cannot be identical with Δεξ. ὁ καὶ Νικοκράτης in A 9, as in the list of Nomophylakes ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους (C 3 (β)), Epagathos does not figure. Χαρίξενος is presumably T. Flavius Ch., known as Eponymos in v. 1, 34, l. 6, and as Athlothetes in *ca.* A.D. 97 (v. 1, 667); cf. also 467 and 476. Μνάσων appears in v. 1, 44 just before Julius Eurykles, and we have the Gerontes (?) and Sphaireis of his year in v. 1, 98 and 675 respectively. Στράτων is new as Eponymos, but may well be Στρ. Ξενομένους, Γερουσίας τὸ γ′ under Ti. Cl.

Aristoboulos (v. 1, 102, l. 5). Πασικράτης can hardly be different from the man under whom Agathokles's long *cursus* begins, in 32 A; he held office in, or at least close to, the year A.D. 125 (see above, p. 195). Epagathos's career thus falls in the later years of Trajan, and early years of Hadrian.

E 13. Ἀλεξίμαχος Σωτηρίχου is found also in C 6, col. I, as Γερουσίας τὸ β', but it is not easy to account for his name here in isolation, unless it forms the end of a list which has overflowed from some other stone. (Can it be an unfinished continuation of E 1?.[1])

E 14. Restoration hopeless, as we have no clue to the amount which must have been inscribed on a (lost) adjoining block on the left. Σύναρχοι, which we may safely restore in l. 2, rarely figure in this series, but we may compare B 1 (β), and No. 9, below, both relating to Boards of γυναικονόμοι. Perhaps this fragment should be restored on the same lines.

E 15. No name can be restored with certainty.

E 16–22. None of these can be restored, nor plausibly connected with any other fallen blocks or fragments.

E 23. Undoubtedly belongs to the wall, though found a few metres inside it, in debris above the lower seats. Assuming that six or seven letters are lost on the left from the two last lines, the restoration suggested for them seems fairly certain. Otherwise it seems impossible to account for the letters σαρ, and we know that the title φιλόκαισαρ καὶ φιλόπατρις was borne by members of this family, among many others (cf. v. 1, p. 117, *stemma*, and, *ibid.* 537, a statue-base to the son of the man whom I here restore). In l. 6 Φιλοκράτης Διογένους is doubtful, as his date is perhaps too early for him to have been a colleague of Pratolaos (he is Ephor under Philokleidas, v. 1, 51, and E 6, above).

E 24. Left-hand side of a block, badly damaged; enough remains to shew that it belonged to our series, and contained part of a list of Gerontes.

E 25. This is the first occurrence at Sparta of a Brasidas with the *nomen* Pompeius, as Claudius is the gentile name usually found in that family. The only persons of the name Brasidas who are known as Eponymoi are in v. 1, 71 B, l. 21 (no *nomen*), 46, and 310, with the *nomen* Claudius. It has always been assumed that the man in 71 is another of the Claudii, but perhaps this is erroneous, and should permit us to identify him with our new-found S. Pompeius Br. If so, this stone will date from about the middle of the second century.

E 26. Κλεόνικος is a very rare name at Sparta, and no Eponymos so called is known. In l. 2, perhaps Ἀριστοκράτης Ἡρᾶ, as in E 5 above. L. 3 is blank, and l. 4 not to be completed with confidence. In l. 5 a safe restoration is Φιλοξενίδας Ἀριστοδάμαντος, whom we know as Γερουσίας in v. 1, 99 and A 3–5 above, and Ephor (?) in 147, l. 1. In E 6, ll. 2, 3 and v. 1, 51, ll. 8–12, the brothers Ἄλεξις and Πασικλῆς Φιλοκράτους are Ephors together under Philokleidas, the former being President. The last line is not to be completed with certainty.

[1] For we know that he was a member of the Gerousia under G. Julius Philokleidas (v. 1, 97, l. 16); cf. C 6–7, above.

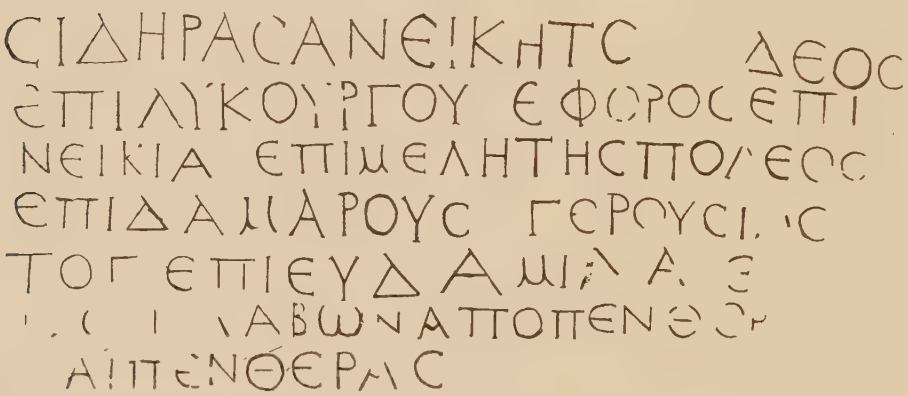
As there are six names, this list cannot contain Ephors or Nomophylakes. It presumably was one of Biduoi, and so Alexis and Pasikles would have held this post before being Ephors; thus Kleonikos must come before Philokleidas in the series of Eponymoi.

E 27. A hopeless fragment from the upper r. corner of a block. The Eponymos was one of the many bearers of the *nomen* Memmius.

From the places where these last three pieces were found, it seems probable that the western Parodos-wall was inscribed also. As stated above, no inscribed blocks, and indeed very few of the marble blocks at all, remained *in situ*.

2 (*a*–*ε*). Inscribed on upper surface of marble blocks forming the inner side (nearest the Orchestra) of the rain-water channel in front of the lowest seats of the *cavea*.[1] The inscriptions are numbered from left to right.

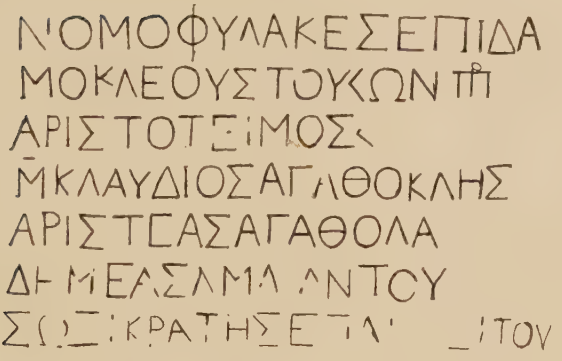
(*a*)



(*a*) Σιδηρᾶς Ἀνεικήτο[υ βί]δεος
ἐπὶ Λυκούργου, ἔφορος ἐπὶ
Νεικία, ἐπιμελητὴς πόλεος (*sic*)
ἐπὶ Δαμάρους, γερουσί[α]ς
τὸ γ′ ἐπὶ Εὐδαμίδα, ε
. . . . λαβὼν ἀπὸ πενθερ[οῦ]
[κ]αὶ πενθερᾶς.

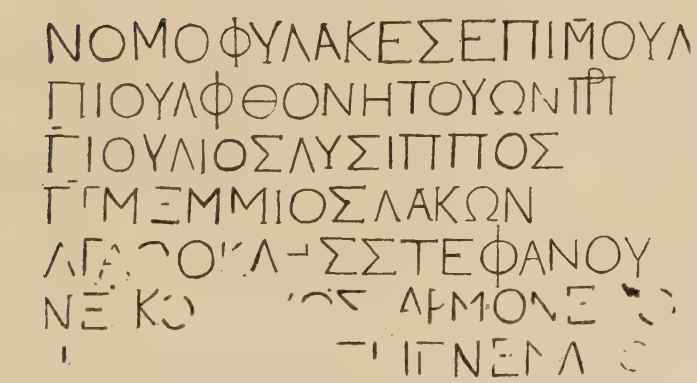
[1] Cf. p. 125.

(β)



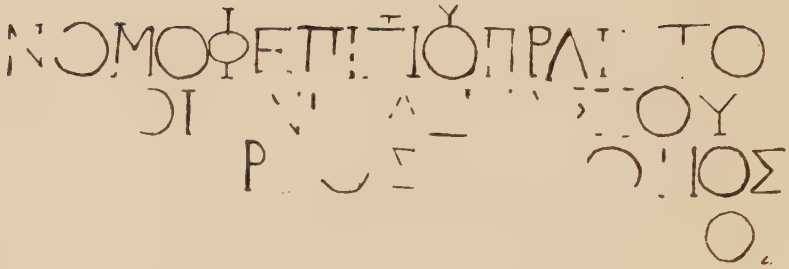
(β) Νομοφύλακες ἐπὶ Δα-
μοκλέους τοῦ (Δαμοκλέους), ὧν πρ(έσβυς)
Ἀριστότειμος (Ἀριστοτείμου).
Μ(ᾶρκος) Κλαύδιος Ἀγαθοκλῆς.
Ἀριστέας Ἀγαθόλα.
Δημέας Ἀμα[ρ]άντου.
Σωσ[ι]κράτης Ἐπα[φρο]δίτου.

(γ)



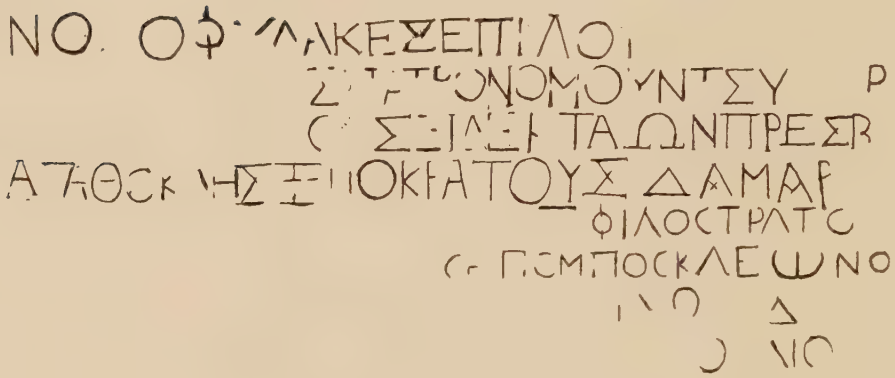
(γ) Νομοφύλακες ἐπὶ Μ(άρκου) Οὐλ-
πίου Ἀφθονήτου, ὧν πρ(έσβυς)
Γ(άϊος) Ἰούλιος Λύσιππος.
Π(όπλιος) Μέμμιος Λάκων.
Ἀγαθοκλῆς Στεφάνου.
Νε[ι]κό[μαχ]ος Ἁρμογε[ίκ]ο[υ].
[. . . . . ἰδα]ς Μενεμά[χ]ο[υ].

(δ)



(δ) Νομοφ(ύλακες) ἐπὶ Γ(αΐου) Ἰου(λίου) Πρατ το (?)
. . . . οι . . . . . Δ[ιονυ]σίου (?)
. . . . . ρ . ος . . . . . ὠνος.
- - - - - - - (?)
(The other lines are completely obliterated.)

(ε)



(ε) Νο[μ]οφύλακες ἐπὶ Λ.Οὐ[ολοσσηνοῦ]
[Δαμάρου]ς, πατρονομοῦντ[ο]ς ὑ[πὲ]ρ
[αὐτὸν Πρ. Μεμμί]ο[υ] Σειδέκτα, ὧν πρέσβ(υς)
Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ξενοκράτους Δαμάρ[ει κά(σεν)?].
- - - - - - - - ς Φιλοστράτο[υ].
- - - - Σε[ί]πομπος Κλέωνο[ς].
- - - - - - - ιμο[νί]δ[α -
- - - - - - - - ρ - λιρ -.
(Lines 7 and 8 are most uncertain.)

(α) Neither of the names Σιδηρᾶς[1] and Ἀνείκητος is hitherto known at Sparta. It is clear that the *cursus* is incomplete, as there is no mention of the first two tenures of membership of the Gerousia, and the references to other offices, *e.g.* that of Nomophylax, between the posts of Biduos and Ephor may well be omitted. The title ἐπιμελητὴς πόλεος(-εως) is rarely found, its only certain occurrence in the Spartan texts in *I.G.* v. 1 being in 32 A, l. 4 (Hadrianic age). The final entry, made doubtful by the worn condition of the stone, in l. 6, should presumably be read ϵ[ἰ|κόνα] λαβών, but the few surviving traces before the verb do not bear this out; no simple alternative suggests itself.

The Patronomoi bear well-known names, and for Lycurgus in particular we get fuller evidence for his place in the series, by combining this text with C 5 above, where, as we have seen, he figures as Λυκοῦργος θεός; and we must thus no longer suppose that there was a mortal Eponymos of this name in the mid second century.[2] Further indication of his date is given by the adjoining text (β).

For Nikias cf. v. 1, 37, l. 16; 38, l. 6. For Damares we seem to have a possible choice of names, for on our present evidence we should probably distinguish between Memmius Damares, known in v. 1, 38 (*init.*, with *nomen* restored), and 1314, l. 31 f., and D. Bruti *f.*, *ibid.* 39, l. 21 and 162, l. 14 (restored). The former, who seems to have officiated after Hadrian (probably not in the following year?),[3] may prove too early for our purpose. Eudamidas, already known from v. 1, 64 and 71 B, ll. 2 and 15, can scarcely be placed earlier than A.D. 150, which would leave an unusually long gap after Damares, if he were little, if any, later than the year after Hadrian (say 130 at latest). These chronological intricacies cannot be discussed in full here.

(β) Another copy of this list is known, but lacks the name of the Eponymos, as the first line is lost, namely, v. 1, 65. As it gives also the list of Ephors under Damokles IV, it adds an interesting item to our sources for the prosopography of the period. In him we have clearly a son, hitherto unknown, of Δαμοκλῆς Δ. τοῦ καὶ Φιλοκράτους, for whose activities see above, B 4 (γ), in reference to the list of Ephors of his year.

As Aristotimos II is πρέσβυς ἐφόρων under Lycurgus in v. 1, 66, 67, we have good ground for dating Damokles, under whom he held the less distinguished presidency of the Nomophylakes, a few years earlier than Lycurgus. Of the Nomophylakes, little need be said, but it must be noted that Σωσικράτης Ἐπαφροδίτου cannot be rightly restored by Kolbe in v. 1, 90, l. 8, as this is a list of Nomophylakes from some other year, and the names of S.'s colleagues do not correspond; and we must not assume that he held that office on more than one occasion, for this is quite unparalleled in our records of this Board.[4]

[1] It does not appear among names formed from metals in Bechtel, *Historische Gr. Personennamen*; cf., however, Σιδηρεύς at Teos, *C.I.G.* 3064, l. 1.

[2] Cf. p. 191 f.; as we have seen, the Lycurgus mentioned in A 3-5 may be a mortal.

[3] The appearance of the stone (v. 1, 1314) does not suggest necessarily a close sequence of the texts on it.

[4] We find a man serving more than once as βίδυος, *e.g.* 1, B 8; v. 1, 138, 140.

Note also that M. Claudius Agathokles is Ephor (previously?) in v. 1, 59, for which year Kolbe would restore Hadrian's name as Eponymos; though, as I have shewn above (p. 187), this is untenable, and we must restore [ἐπὶ Μενίσκου].

(γ) Aphthonetos, with or without his names of M. Ulpius, is a well-known Patronomos, dating from about the end of Hadrian's reign (cf. v. 1, 32, 34, 61, 104, 286, and *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 202 f.). We have the list of Ephors in his year (v. 1, 61), followed by scanty remains of, presumably, the list of Nomophylakes. After Νομοφύλακες ὧν πρέσβυς there is ιπ in the next line, which from its position will enable us to restore the name as [Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Λύσ]ιπ[πος]. The same letters in the following line shed no light, and still less does the solitary ω towards the end of the next line. But we have in addition a duplicate copy of the latter part of our list, also sadly mutilated, in v. 1, 157, which we may partially restore, with our new text to help, thus:

- - - - Π(ό). Μέμμιος [Λάκων] - -,
[Ἀγαθοκλῆς Στε]φάνου, Νεικόμαχ[ος Ἁρμονείκου],
. . . . . ίδα[ς Μ]ενεμάχου.

In fact, it is not impossible that this is actually the lower half of v. 1, 61, in spite of the striking difference that, while the list of Ephors has each name in a fresh line, clearly the Nomophylakes did not have this arrangement. At any rate, if not the same stone as 61, there is no doubt that it contains remains of the same list as ours.

G. Julius Lysippos, President of the Board, must be distinguished from several contemporary bearers of the same name, viz. Λ. Γαΐου, Λ. Μνάσωνος and Λ. Φιλοχαρείνου. He is, however, identical with the man who is known (v. 1, 486) to have been Gymnasiarch in A.D. 128 on Hadrian's second visit to Sparta, was Γερουσίας (τὸ β′) under Ti. Cl. Aristobulos, and probably Patronomos shortly before our Aphthonetos, soon after 130 (v. 1, 34).

P. Memmius Lakon, hitherto unknown, may be a kinsman of P. Memmius Spartiatikos (v. 1, 85, etc.), as both Lakon and Spartiatikos are names well known among the descendants of the elder G. Julius Eurykles. It is not impossible that he was a son of P. Memmius Deximachos I, and thus brother of P. M. Seidektas, who was Patronomos in the reign of Hadrian (v. 1, 32 A); cf. the *stemma* of this family, v. 1, p. 117.

Ἀγαθοκλῆς Στεφάνου is well known, as we have his *cursus* in v. 1, 32 B, where his tenure of the office of Nomophylax under Aphthonetos is recorded. The remaining persons are not known to us previously except from v. 1, 157.

(δ) The name of the Eponymos is puzzling, for Πρατ το - - must be due either to abbreviation or dittography, and, moreover, no Eponymos of a name beginning with Prat- is known who has the *praenomen* and *nomen* of G. Julius. A possible solution is this: a Patronomos of the name of Pratonikos is known, at a date which would suit the present text (in v. 1, 40, 42, etc.). Assuming the second το to be superfluous, and reading his name here, we should have

to suppose he had Roman citizenship. If we go further and in v. 1, 42 make a small emendation, namely, ΓΑΙΟΥ for ΓΟ, we should obtain the same *praenomen* and *nomen* for him as here, which will do away with the rather strange abbreviation for πα(τρ)ο(νόμος) involved by the traditional reading. The alternative, of an abbreviation in the name Pratonikos, *vel sim.*, seems most improbable, and we should presumably have to supply τὸ β', a further improbability.

The traces of the names of the Nomophylakes preserved need not delay us.

(ε) The word πατρονομοῦντος being recognisable in l. 2 enables us to see that Σειδέκτας, whose full name we may restore as Πό. Μέμμιος Σ., acted as deputy for the man whose name has practically vanished in ll. 1–2. This gap I would tentatively fill as Λ. Οὐ[ολοσσηνοῦ Δαμάρου]ς, who is not hitherto known as having been an Eponymos. For other examples of a deputy-Patronomos cf. v. 1, 275, 280, 291, 295, in the last of which L. Volussenus Aristokrates, son of the Damares here suggested, acts as deputy.[1] Seidektas is already well known, as Patronomos and in other capacities (v. 1, 32 A, 34, etc.), and seems, moreover, to have married the daughter of L. Volussenus Damares (v. 1, 470), which might well explain the latter's having chosen him as his deputy (cf. *stemma* in v. 1, p. 117).

Of the names of the Board, the only one already known is that of Σείπομπος Κλέωνος, who is Eponymos in v. 1, 32 B, 34, etc., and father of Κλέων Σειπόμπου, who was a Nomophylax under Ti. Cl. Atticus (v. 1, 62, l. 13). This would indicate that the present list must fall several years earlier than the Patronomate of Atticus, which cannot be later than A.D. 137 (cf. *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 202). In l. 5 the son of Philostratos cannot be restored as Onasikleidas, as we know from v. 1, 36 that he was one of the Nomophylakes under Kallikrates (Ῥούφου?). In l. 7 we may have the remains of the name Εὐδαιμονίδας, as in v. 1, 128, 175, 672.

The general indications for the dating of these five texts are pretty conclusive, for (β) to (ε) belong to the reign of Hadrian and the first few years of Pius, and (α) must be a few years later—perhaps just after 150. It is at any rate clear that they cannot have been engraved in succession from left to right, as (α) is distinctly later than the rest, and (δ) and (ε) rather earlier than (β) and (γ). If there is any system, it would rather appear that the order of engraving these texts ran from right to left, and it is fairly clear that they cannot belong to successive years, even as regards (β) to (ε).

STATUE-BASES, ETC.

3 (2764). Plain base of white marble, built face upwards into the Byzantine wall parallel to the W. parodos. H. ·39; br. ·44; th. ·26. Letters ·034, slightly crowded on r., with slight *apices*.

[1] Restored by Kolbe, *ad loc.* The restoration is not, however, absolutely certain; cf. above, p. 175.

ΑΠΟΛΙΣ		Ἡ Πόλις
ΛΕΥΚΙΟΝΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ		Λεύκιον Καίσαρα
ΣΕΡΑΣΤΟΥΥΙΟΝ		Σε(β)αστοῦ υἱόν,
ΑΡΕΤΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ		ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκεν
ΚΑΙΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΑΣ	5	καὶ εὐνοίας ἃς
ΕΧΩΝΔΙΑΤΕΤΕ		ἔχων διατετέ-
ΛΕΚΕΝΕΙΣΑΥΤΑΝ		λεκεν εἰς αὐτάν.

4 (2793). Lower part of similar base, found in a Byzantine wall behind the centre of the stage (1925). H. ·47; br. ·50; th. ·20. Letters ·03.

		[Ἡ Πόλις]
		[Γάϊον Καίσαρα Σε-]
ΒΑΣ ι υ ι ι ι		βαστ̣οῦ υ̣ί[ὸν ἀρε-]
ΤΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝι		τᾶς ἕνεκεν [καὶ]
ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΑΣΕΧΩΙ\	5	εὐνοίας ἃς ἔχων
ΔΙΑΤΕΤΕΛΕΚΕΝ		διατετέλεκεν
ΕΙΣΑΥΤΑΝ		εἰς αὐτάν.

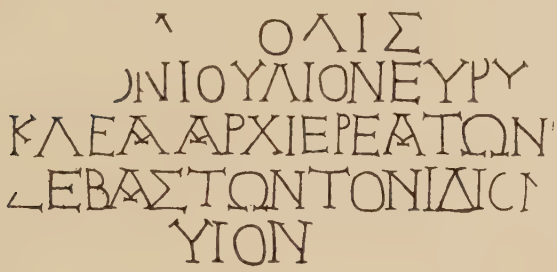
The restoration of the second stone, in view of the remains of the word *υἱόν* after *Σεβαστοῦ*, shews that it formed a pair with the first, and the probability that it is from the base of a statue of Augustus's elder grandson Gaius, rather than from a second statue to Lucius, is overwhelming. Small portions of two marble statues, rather over life-size, in particular the left feet, standing with the heels raised from the ground, which clearly formed a pair, should probably be ascribed to the figures of Gaius and Lucius which stood on the bases. Both may have stood together near the west end of the stage, to judge by the find-spots of the feet and of the better-preserved inscription.

Honorary statues to Gaius and Lucius Caesar are known from inscriptions to have been set up at Athens,[1] and Hypata in Thessaly,[2] and a pair of portrait statues found at Corinth by the American School of Classical Studies, together with portraits of Augustus and Tiberius, has been correctly identified with Gaius and Lucius (no inscriptions accompanied them).[3] It is probable that both statues were dedicated at Sparta on the occasion of Gaius passing through Greece on his way to the East either in 3 B.C. or A.D. 1, or on his return from the first campaign, for the Athens inscriptions call him respectively *νέον* Ἄρη and

[1] *I.G.* iii. 444, *add.* p. 496, 444*a*, Gaius; 445, 446, Lucius.
[2] *I.G.* ix. 2, 40 (to Augustus and his grandsons).
[3] *A.J.A.* 1921, pp. 337 ff.

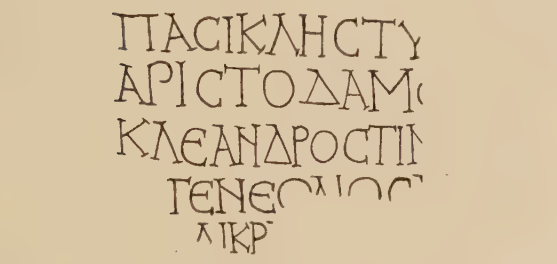
Αρη[ος] *υἱόν*. Lucius never visited Greece as far as is known.[1] We do not know in what form (if any) these two princes displayed their *εὔνοια* to Sparta.

5 (2801). Plain base of grey marble, incomplete below, and with the surface of (*a*) damaged by weathering. H. ·51; br. ·49; th. ·28. Letters ·03, with large *apices*, on (*a*), and ·025–·035, in poorer style, on (*b*). (Stage, W. end, deep down, 1925.)



(*a*)

Ἁ [Πό]λις
[Γάϊ]ον Ἰούλιον Εὐρυ-
κλέα ἀρχιερέα τῶν
Σεβαστῶν τὸν ἴδιον
υἱόν.



(*b*)

Πασικλῆς Τυ[χίππου?]
Ἀριστόδαμο[ς - -]
Κλέανδρος Τιμ - -
Γενέθλιος Τ(?) -
[Καλ]λικρ[άτης - -].

(*a*) This cannot refer to Eurykles the elder, the well-known contemporary of Augustus,[2] but to his descendant, who is well known also, and flourished in the time of Trajan and Hadrian. The title of High-priest of the Emperors is decisive in favour of the later man, whose tenure of this priesthood is recorded in *I.G.* v. 1, 380, 971, 1172; and we know from other inscriptions that he was a Patronomos at Sparta,[3] and adorned Mantinea with a stoa to commemorate the death of Antinoös, but died before it was completed.[4] We cannot allot an exact date to his receipt of the statue here erected.

For the title *υἱὸς πόλεως*, occasionally borne by Spartan citizens, we have evidence that it sometimes, as here, accompanied the Imperial

[1] The historical sources are usefully collected by Swift, *A.J.A.*, *loc. cit.*, esp. p. 348 f.
[2] Cf. E. Kjellberg's full account of him in *Klio*, xvii. pp. 44 ff.
[3] *I.G.* v. 1, 32 B, 34, 44, 103, 287, 1315.
[4] *I.G.* v. 2, 281 (= *Syll.*[3] 841).

priesthood, though not a normal concomitant of it[1]; *υἱὸς βουλῆς* seems to have been a similar title, and *υἱὸς πόλεως καὶ βουλῆς* is also once found.[2]

(*b*) Engraved later, on the right-hand side, and originally continued on to an adjoining block. We have no sure clue to the office held by the men contained on this list.

L. 1. *Τύχιππος Πασικλέους* occurs as Ephor, under G. Julius Eudamos, in v. 1, 63, and we may confidently restore the name as patronymic here, and identify the bearer as son of the other man.

Ll. 2–4. None of these persons is known elsewhere, and *Γενέθλιος* appears here for the first time at Sparta.

The date thus would seem to be rather after the middle of the second century—in fact not very long after the death of Eurykles it seems that his statue was removed, and the base re-used.

6 (2790). Plain block of bluish Laconian marble, complete. H. ·88; br. ·26; th. ·60. Letters ·025; those of line 6 irregular, and of poorer style. Probably a companion-block is lost, from the left, as the stone does not seem to have been cut down after it was inscribed. (Built into Byzantine wall over West Parodos, 1925.)

ΙΩΤΙΟΣ		[Γά(ϊος) Ἰούλ(ιος) Βο]ιώτιος
ΣΕΠΙΚΛΕΩ		[Γερουσία]ς ἐπὶ Κλέω-
ΑΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ		[νος, γυν]αικονόμος
ΡΑΤΟΥΣΓΕ		[ἐπὶ Λυσικ]ράτους, Γε-
ΒΕΠΙΤΙΤΙΑ	5	[ρουσίας τὸ] β′ ἐπὶ Τιτια-
ΟΛΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΟΥ		[νοῦ, τὸ γ′ ἐπὶ Ἰ]ουλ. Σωσικράτου[ς.]

The key to the restoration lies in 1, C 8 above, where the same man records his tenure of the office of *γυναικονόμος* under G. Julius Lysikrates. As ll. 4–5 must be completed *Γερουσίας τὸ β′*, it is likely that his first tenure of office as member of the Gerousia was mentioned in l. 2, and the length of line thus obtained is quite satisfactory. The later addition in l. 6 presumably concerned a third year's service in the Gerousia, and no longer entry than *τὸ γ′* will fit the space available; even so we require ten letters, but they seem to have been more cramped than those above. That in l. 3 the restoration only needs six letters is not a serious objection.

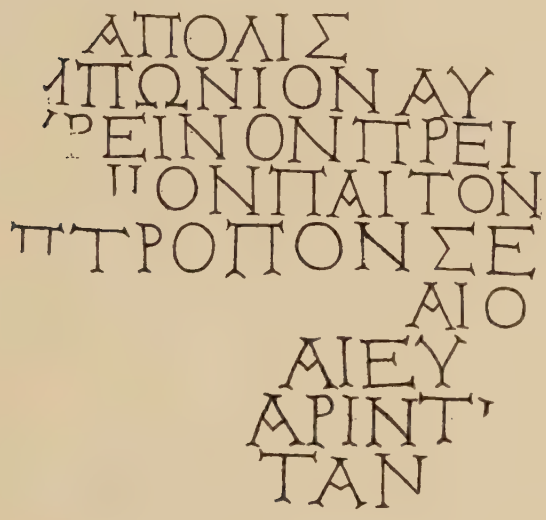
Kleon, if rightly restored, occurs also in A 12; Lysikrates in v. 1,

[1] *I.G.* v. 1, 37, 59, 65 all refer to the same man; in 44 and 105 the restoration is not absolutely certain. [2] *Ibid.* 595, 685 for *υἱὸς β.*; 551 for *υἱὸς π. καὶ β.*

55 and 275; Titianos, in v. 1, 39, l. 34; and Julius Sosikrates in v. 1, 40, l. 15 f. (and restored in 89, l. 3 and 295, the latter very doubtful).

The important fact that Lysikrates held office shortly before Titianos forces us to modify Kolbe's *stemma* of the family of Lysikrates (*ad* v. 1, 275) and to date his patronomate to the middle, not the start, of the second century, for Titianos cannot be earlier than *ca.* 150.

7 (2743). Five adjoining fragments, which form rather more than half of a plain base of grey marble; most of the upper and right-hand edges is preserved. Original height and breadth *ca.* ·55. Letters *ca.* ·036. (Stage W., at high level, 1924.)



Ἡ Πόλις
[Πο]μπώνιον Αὐ-
[γο]υρεῖνον Πρει-
[φέρ]νιον Παῖτον
5 [ἐ]π(ι)τροπον Σε-
[βαστοῦ, δικ]αιο-
[σύνης κ]αὶ εὐ
[νοίας χ]άριν τ[ᾶς]
[εἰς αὐ]τάν.

Restoration is made possible by the discovery at Argos (by Vollgraff, *B.C.H.* xxviii. p. 425) of a statue-base bearing an inscription in honour of the same man, from which we learn his full name, his military career, and the distinctions awarded him by Trajan. His post, moreover, is described more fully, as he appears as *ἐπίτροπος Σεβαστοῦ ἐπαρχείας Ἀχαΐας*.

The recipient of these honours is not known elsewhere, though we may well connect him with two other bearers of the name of Prifernius Paetus, named in Dessau, *I.L.S.* 1350 (a contemporary, who also served in Dacia), and 6174, dated to A.D. 152. We therefore can only date his

tenure of the procuratorship of Achaia, in the light of the Argos stone, as later than the Dacian war(s) of Trajan.[1]

Three other Spartan inscriptions allude to other holders of the same post, namely *I.G.* v. 1, 495 (restored), 501, and 546, all of which are later than our present text. Another example of a Roman official receiving a statue both at Argos and Sparta is furnished by *I.G.* iv. 588, of which the Spartan version (*I.G.* v. 1, 533) is an exact duplicate (cf. Dessau, *op. cit.*, 8831).

8 (2759). Large fragment of a columnar statue-base, to which a small piece found subsequently joins on the r. H. ·37; orig. diam. ·40. Letters, in l. 1, *ca.* ·06, elsewhere ·04. (From above lower seats in W. of *cavea*, inside Byzantine wall, (*a*) in 1924, (*b*) in 1925.)

Η Π		Ἡ Π[όλις]
ΜΑΡΚΟΙ ΛΥΡΗ		Μᾶρκον Αὐρή-
ΛΙΟΝΞΕΝΑΡΧΙ		λιον Ξεναρχί-
ΔΑΝ Π ΥΡΡ		δαν Πύρρ[ου]
ΕΥΣΕ	5	εὐσε[βείας]
		[χάριν.]

The recipient is unknown, but might possibly be son of P. Ulpius Pyrrhos, already known from v. 1, 503 (*add.*) and 504, who flourished about A.D. 140; in this case the son will have received a new title of citizenship from M. Aurelius.

9 (2777). Large plain base, damaged above. H. 1·27; br. ·35; th. ·475. There is a vacant space ·38 high above line 1. Letters *ca* ·027, not very evenly cut. (Stage, East end; built into later wall, 1925.)

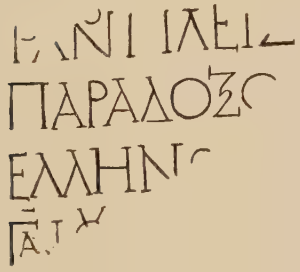
ΥΓΕΙΝΟΣ<		Ὑγεῖνος (Ὑγείνου)
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΝΟΜΣ		γυναικονόμ[ο]ς
ΕΠΙΚΛΕΩΝΥΜΟ		ἐπὶ Κλεωνύμου
ΤΟΥ<ΣΥΝΑΡΧΟΙ		τοῦ (Κλεωνύμου) σύναρχοι
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	5	Ἀπολλώνιος
ΖΩΣΙΜΟΥ		Ζωσίμου,
ΦΙΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ<		Φιλουμενὸς (Φιλαυμενοῦ),
ΑΡΤΕΜΑΣΡΟΦΙ		Ἀρτεμᾶς Ῥουφί-
ΩΝΟΣΕΥΔΑΜΟ<		ωνος, Εὔδαμο[ς] (Εὐδάμου).

[1] Μετὰ τὴν κατὰ Γετῶν νείκην would seem probably to refer to the second rather than to the first Dacian war.

For the existence of *γυναικονόμοι* at Sparta, see above, No. 1, A 12, l. 8; *ibid.*, B, 1 (*β*); C 8; and No. 6 above. From v. 1, 170 the Board appears to consist of six members, though our present stone only records five.

The date must fall in the second half of the second century, as the Patronomos is found in a text of that date (v. 1, 168, l. 4) in a list of *ἱερομνήμονες*. Ἀπολλώνιος Ζωσίμου in l. 5 f. must be grandfather of, and not identical, with Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀπολλώνιος Ζωσίμου, a *γυναικονόμος* in v. 1, 170, to which we have just referred. And Φιλουμενὸς < may well be son of Φ. Σωτηρίδα, who was three times (at least) member of the Gerousia about the middle of the century (*I.G.* v. 1, 111, 112, 113), and apparently *ἀγορανόμος ca.* A.D. 140 (v. 1, 128). The rare name Ἀρτεμᾶς is only known hitherto at Sparta in v. 1, 596, where his daughter is honoured; as her husband has the names M. Aurelius, there would be no chronological difficulty in identifying the father with the member of our Board. His father's name is unknown at Sparta. Εὔδαμος < is not known elsewhere.

10 (2732). Fragment of base of grey marble, complete on left only. H ·21; br. ·25; th. ·083. Letters ·039, well cut. (Stage, W. at high level, 1924.)



[Ἡ Πόλις]
[Πό. Αἴλιον Δαμοκρα-]
[τίδαν Ἀλκανδρίδα]
[ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Σεβα-]
[στοῦ καὶ τῶν θείων]
[προγόνων αὐτοῦ, φι-]
[λοκαίσαρα καὶ φιλό-]
[πατριν, αἰώνιον ἀγο-]
ρ̣α̣νό(μον) π̣λειʂ[τονείκην]
παράδοξ̣ο̣[ν, ἄριστον]
Ἑλλήνω̣[ν οἱ σύναρχοι]
Γ̣ά̣(ϊος) Ἰο̣ύ̣[λιος - -]
-- -- -- --

This restoration is less venturesome than it would seem at the first sight, for the group of titles on the portion preserved is unmistakable, and gives us a line of approximately sixteen letters, assuming there to be

no other abbreviations. Moreover, no other Spartan citizen bore in combination the titles of *αἰώνιος ἀγορανόμος, πλειστονίκης παράδοξος* and *ἄριστος Ἑλλήνων*.[1] It will be seen that we have, if we accept this identification, fifteen letters in ll. 2–6, the slightly wider spacing of which would be quite a likely arrangement.

The only difficulty is to account for the presence of another person's name in the last line of the fragment. The natural phrase for such a position would be a mention of the defrayal of the cost of the statue, but for our nine spaces available we cannot crowd in *προσδεξαμένου τὸ ἀνάλωμα* or anything similar. *Οἱ σύναρχοι* gives us a line longer by one letter than any other, which is not a serious objection, and seems inherently most probable. *Ἔφορον* (or *βίδεον*) *ἐπὶ* is also possible, but it seems unlikely that a reference to the Patronomos under whom he held such an office would be needed; and the fact that a statue-base to his son (*I.G.* v. 1, 556 A) is erected by his colleagues in the office of *βίδεος*, and has the words *Ἡ Πόλις* in l. 1, adds even more probability to the suggested restoration.

11 (2739). Upper part of statue-base of grey Laconian marble, with moulding above, and cuttings for feet of statue on upper surface. H. ·70 ; br. ·505 ; th. ·535 . Letters, resembling those of the previous stone, ·055 high in l. 1, elsewhere ·03–·036 high. Slightly damaged on left. (Among fallen blocks from W. end of East Parodos-wall, 1924.)

Ἡ Πόλις
[Πό.] Αἴλ. Ἀλκανδρίδαν
[Δα]μοκρατίδα, ἀρχιε-
[ρέ]α τῶν Σεβαστῶν,
[φι]λοκαίσαρα καὶ φιλό-
[πα]τριν, β′ περιοδονεί-
[κη]ν καὶ ἄριστον Ἑλλή-
νων τὸν π[ατρονόμον (?)
- - - - - - - - - - - - -

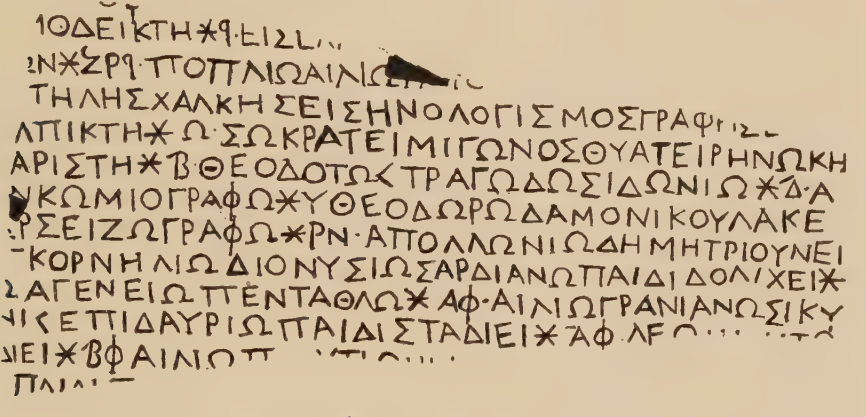
The same man is the recipient of *I.G.* v. 1, 556 A, as *πρέσβυς βιδέων*, and is almost unquestionably the son, not the father, of the Damokratidas who is honoured in the previous inscription. The only difference in the titles is that he is here *ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν*, but there *τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*,

[1] He is well known : cf. v. 1, 144, 305, 553, 554, 555, and *stemma*, p. 123.

which, unless it is merely due to an error of the lapidary, suggests that a change in the Imperial House had taken place in the interval between the engraving of the two stones. That he was a holder of the Patronomate is known from the (restored) *σφαιρεῖς* inscription, *I.G.* v. 1, 682, where he appears as *ἀρχ. τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*, and the evidence points to the reign of Caracalla as the probable date.

12–15. Four fragments of bronze tablets, found built into the Byzantine wall above E. end of West Parodos-wall, May 8th, 1925.

12 (2794). Complete on r. only, and probably contains less than half of original width. H. ·105; br. ·265; th. ·005. Letters *ca.* ·005.



- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ρ . φ -

[- - - - - - - - - - -νο]μοδείκτῃ ✳ϙ′· εἰσελ[αστικ - - (17 ll.) - - - - - - -]

- - - - - - - - - - - ων ✳ ′ Ϛρϙ′· Ποπλίῳ Αἰλίῳ . . . . ρ - - (15 ll.) - - - - - -

[- - - - - - - - - - - -σ]τήλης χαλκῆς εἰς ἣν ὁ λογισμὸς γραφήσε[ται]

5 [- - - - - - - - - -σα]λπικτῇ ✳ ω′· Σωκράτει Μίγωνος Θυατειρηνῷ κή-

[ρυκι- - · - - - - κιθ]αριστῇ ✳ ′Β. Θεοδότῳ (Θεοδότου) τραγῳδῷ Σιδωνίῳ

✳ ′Δ· Α-

[- - - - - - - - - - - -ε]νκωμιογράφῳ ✳ υ′· Θεοδώρῳ Δαμονίκου Λακε-

[δαιμονίῳ- - · - - -Τα]ρσεῖ ζῳγράφῳ ✳ ρν′· Ἀπολλωνίῳ Δημητρίου Νει-

[κομηδεῖ (?)- - - · - - -] Τ. Κορνηλίῳ Διονυσίῳ Σαρδιανῷ παιδὶ δολιχεῖ ✳

10 - - · - - - - - - - - - -ῳ ἀγενείῳ πεντάθλῳ ✳ ′Αφ′· Αἰλίῳ Γρανιανῷ Σικυ-

[ωνίῳ- - - · - - - - - -ω]νι (-ωνος) Ἐπιδαυρίῳ παιδὶ σταδιεῖ ✳ ′Αφ′· Λεϙ

. . . . Τϙ

[- - - - - - - - - στα]διεῖ ✳ ′Βφ′· Αἰλίῳ Π[λα]υτίῳ Νι- - - - - - (18 ll.) - - -

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - παιδὶ- -.

This unusually interesting document is too much mutilated for us to recover the whole of its contents. As will be seen below, the surviving portion seems to represent less than half the original width of the tablet, and it is quite impossible to say how much is lost either above or below.

In ll. 1–4 the sense is irrecoverable, apart from the phrase in l. 4, but the rest of the text gives us portions of a list of victors in various contests, each name being followed by the amount, in denarii, of the winner's prize. No record of this type has hitherto been found at Sparta, though we have much interesting information concerning the re-organisation of a festival at about the end of the first century of our era, preserved in the group of inscriptions *I.G.* v. 1, 18–20.

L. 1. Faint traces alone survive.

L. 2. Records payment of 90 denarii to the νομοδείκτης. For other allusions to officials of this title, in texts inscribed on the East Parodos-wall, see above (p. 177). The post was not hitherto known from epigraphical sources at Sparta. Then comes a mention of εἰσελ[αστικοὶ ἀγῶνες], a term likewise hitherto unknown at Sparta. It is familiar from the reference in Pliny's letter to Trajan (*Ep.* x. 118, 119), and in inscriptions relating to Asiatic festivals.[1]

L. 3. Records payment of 7190 denarii; I cannot complete the word ending in -ων. The sign after Χ is presumably Ϟ (7000), and in view of its magnitude this sum may represent a total of the preceding items. For the shape of the *koppa*, cf. *C.I.G.* 1971, 3440, Larfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 294. The next item, in view of the name being in the dative, must have been another payment, was probably to one of the officials connected with the εἰσελαστικοὶ ἀγῶνες.

L. 4. Probably this reference to the 'brazen stele on which the reckoning shall be engraved' is concerned with an item recording its cost, *e.g.* [εἰς τὴν ποίησιν τῆς σ]τήλης, etc. The λογισμός is the list of payments to officials and of the list of victors and their prizes which follows. For the word, cf. the Delphic records of Naopoioi, *Syll.*[3] 241, ll. 19, 145.

Ll. 5–12. The order in which the names of contests are recorded in such documents may be presumed to follow that in which they were held, and we find that from the earliest times the order follows, on the whole, a general rule, but with frequent local exceptions. The evidence cannot be discussed here, and, for pre-Imperial times, has been admirably examined by Klee.[2] The prevalent order for recording the victors in festivals of the Imperial age seems to have been:—σαλπικτής, κῆρυξ, then those in literary, musical and dramatic (if any) events, constituting the μουσικὸς ἀγών in general, followed by the γυμνικοὶ ἀγῶνες, and the horse-races, both in riding and driving, last.

[1] *C.I.G.* 2932, Tralles; 3426, Philadelphia (Lydiae); cf. *C.I.L.* iii. 7086, relating to Pergamon, and *C.I.L.* x. 515, Puteoli; cf. *I.G. Rom.* iii. 370, Adada.

[2] Th. Klee, *Zur Geschichte der Gymnischen Agone an Griechischen Festen* (Teubner, 1918), pp. 20–42.

Among the γυμνικοί, running preceded boxing, wrestling, etc.; and usually the δόλιχος was the first event. If there were contests for boys and for young men (ἀγένειοι, *vel sim.*), they took place before the corresponding events for men. The πένταθλον was very movable, and sometimes even preceded the δόλιχος.[1] The present order, as far as it can be ascertained, is this:

Victor.	*Amount of prize in denarii.*
σαλπικτής	ω′ (800).
κῆρυξ	- -
(κιθαρῳδός?)	- -
κιθαριστής	Β′ (2000).
τραγῳδός	Δ′ (4000).
(κωμῳδός?)	- - -
ἐγκωμιογράφος	ν′ (400).
- - - -	- - -
ζωγράφος	ρν′ (150).
- - - -	- - -
- - - -	- - -
παῖς δολιχεύς	- - -
- - - -	- - -
ἀγένειος πένταθλος	Αφ′ (1500).
- - - -	- - -
- - - -	- - -
παῖς σταδιεύς	Αφ′ (1500).
(ἀγένειος σταδιεύς)	- - - (2000).
(ἀνὴρ ,,)	Βφ′ (2500).
- - - -	- - -
- - - -	- - -
παῖς (?)	- - -

Unfortunately, we have not enough indications of the exact order of the events to enable us to fill the gaps, and thereby to determine exactly the original width of the stele.

The document mentioned above, relating to the Leonidea,[2] seems not to give a complete list, but only to contain items of which the prize-money had been increased, for, in the published restoration, certain of the events we should expect to find are not included. Thus we have not much but internal evidence upon which to go in aiming at a restoration of the missing portions. It is clear that in l. 5 we lack name, patronymic and ethnic of the σαλπικτής, for which, taking an average

[1] Cf. Klee, p. 41.

[2] *I.G.* v. 1, 18.

from the other entries, we might expect twenty-five letters to suffice. This would be a *minimum*, for we cannot be sure that the previous phrase ended with γραφήσεται, and there may have been some introductory heading or rubric before the first entry. The probability that more than our supposed twenty-five letters are lost becomes almost a certainty when we try to complete ll. 7–8, for at the beginning of the latter we must supply δαιμονίῳ, the name of the contest (*e.g.* ῥαψῳδῷ), the amount of the prize, and the name and patronymic of the victorious artist from Tarsus. But after δαιμονίῳ ῥαψῳδῷ ✳ . . we should only have about eight letter-spaces for the missing names, and it would be rash to assume that the only solution, namely, for the man and his father to have had the same name, must be right. On the other hand, the completion of the next item Νει[κομηδεῖ - - followed by contest and prize, which are alone needed to complete the beginning of l. 9, seems to require scarcely more than twenty letters.

In these circumstances it certainly seems safer to assume that much more than the suggested twenty-five letters are lost, and that consequently a complete entry is missing between κῆρυξ and κιθαριστής, as also between τραγῳδός and ἐγκωμιογράφος, and between the latter and the ζῳγράφος in l. 8, as suggested above. Thus there will be an event to insert at the end of the μουσικοί before the first running item, and another (perhaps ἀνδρὶ δολιχεῖ) at the beginning of l. 10; and two more to complete l. 11. This will leave us room for ἀγενείῳ σταδιεῖ followed by ἀνδρὶ σταδιεῖ in l. 12. The prize of 2500 denarii will thus be that of the latter, and as we know that the boys' prize was 1500, we may restore that of the ἀγένειοι as 2000; indeed the difference between the two sums seems too great to allow us readily to accept the larger as the prize for the ἀγένειοι, which would have been the case if we supposed that there was not a whole entry missing.

For the missing events in the μουσικὸς ἀγών we have a fairly large choice, but no certain clues. Perhaps in l. 6, αὐλητής or κιθαρῳδός, in l. 7 probably κωμῳδός, and, as suggested above, *e.g.* ῥαψῳδός in l. 8; for the two entries in l. 9 I have no likely suggestions.

None of the victors, to my knowledge, can be traced elsewhere, and the only contests deserving special comment are those in ll. 7 and 8. The panegyric contest, which is well known from Attic Ephebe inscriptions of the Imperial age (*I.G.* iii. 1096, 1129, 1147, 1148), is found also

in Greece, at the Amphiaraion,[1] at Thespiae,[2] and at Larissa[3]; at the first and last it was twofold, there being records of ἐγκωμιογράφος λογικός and ἐπικός, and at Thespiae the winner is described as ἐγκωμιογράφος εἰς τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα. In Asia Minor it is found at Aphrodisias (*C.I.G.* 2758 and 2759). In whose honour the encomium here referred to was delivered, depends on the identification of the festival, which unfortunately is not by any means sure, as we shall see. For painting-contests at festivals I can find no epigraphical record, though we have references in literature.[4] We must distinguish from them the mention of prizes obtained in school examinations in this attainment, known at Teos (*C.I.G.* 3088) and Magnesia ad Maeandrum (*Inschr. von Magn.* 107 = *Syll.*[3] 960).[5]

That competitors came from far afield to Spartan festivals in the Imperial age is already known, and the combination of the new list with examples previously published gives an interesting array of evidence.

(The new examples are in capitals.)

City.	*Contest.*	*Reference.*
A. GREECE.		
Corinth	Οὐράνια-παίδων πάλη.	*I.G.* v. 1, 659.
EPIDAURUS	(?) ,, στάδιον.	
SIKYON	(?) (?)	
B. ASIA MINOR.		
Ephesus	(?) παγκράτιον	*I.G.* v. 1, 669.
Hypaepa	(?) *ditto*	*I.G.* v. 1, 670.
Magnesia ad M.	Οὐράνια-παίδων παγκρ.	*Inschr. von Magn.* 180, 181.

[1] *I.G.* vii. 416. [2] *Ibid.* 1773.

[3] *Ibid.* ix. 2, 531, ll. 44–46 (= Syll.[3] 1059, ii.)

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxv. 58, for contests at Delphi and the Isthmus between Panainos and Timagoras; *ibid.* 65, for one between Zeuxis and Parrhasios, and 72 for the victory of Timanthes of Samos; cf. Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* ii. 13, 13. Mr. A. D. Nock, who kindly drew my attention to these passages, points out that all these passages, except the first, may refer to contests *ad hoc*. Cf. *Recueil Millet, Textes Relatifs . . . à la Peinture*, p. 168, and note 3.

[5] Cf. Ziebarth, *Gr. Schulwesen*,[6] p. 140 f.

NICOMEDIA	(?) (?)	
Phocaea	Οὐράνια (etc.) ἀγεν. πάλη.	*I.G.* v. 1, 667.
Sardes	Εὐρύκλεια (?)	Keil-Premerstein, *Reise in Lydien*, etc., I. No. 27 (cf. *I.G.* xiv. 1105).
SARDES.	(?) Παίδων δόλιχος.	
Smyrna.	Οὐράνια-τραγωδία (γ').	*I.G.* v. 1, 662.
,,	(?) κιθαρῳδία.	*C.I.G.* 3208 (= *Marm. Oxon.* 34).
,,	(?) παγκράτιον (?).	*C.I.G.* 2935.[1]
TARSUS.	(?) ζωγραφία.	
THYATEIRA.	(?) κήρυγμα.	

C. VARIOUS.

Alexandria.	Εὐρύκλεια-ἀνδρῶν πάλη (β').	*I.G.* v. 1, 666 (cf. xiv. 1102).
SIDON.	(?) τραγῳδία.	
(Uncertain).	Οὐράνια-κιθαρῳδία (δ').	*I.G.* iv. 591 (found at Argos, but recipient not a native of that city).

It would be superfluous to adduce evidence for other festivals of local importance in Greece, which attracted the foreign athlete and musician, in addition to the four great gatherings, though it would shed interesting light on the social history of the times; and conversely, no doubt Laconian competitors visited Asiatic and other festivals, especially in the second century of our era.[2]

It remains to consider the date, and if possible to identify the festival

[1] An athlete who is an honorary citizen of Sparta may be safely supposed to have won victories there.

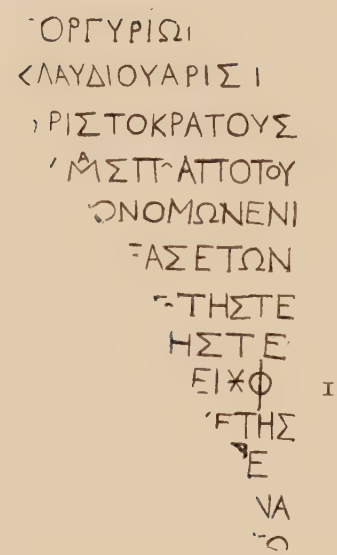
[2] Numerous Laconian victors appear at the Amphiaraion, *I.G.* iv. 416, 417, 420, etc. (cf. B. Leonardos in Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1923, pp. 46 ff. for fuller readings and combinations of fragments); also at Thespiae, *ibid.* 1766, and for one at Neapolis, *I.G.* xiv. *add.* 755*a*. This does not pretend to give a complete list.

to which our new record refers. The evidence of the names suggests the reign of Hadrian as the earliest limit, and the absence of the name Aurelius puts it certainly earlier than Caracalla's edict, and possibly indicates that it should not be put later than the early years of M. Aurelius. Closer than this our evidence does not permit us to place it. Unluckily, Spartan prosopography cannot help, as the only Spartan mentioned is not known elsewhere.[1] The type of lettering is not decisive for any exacter date than we have indicated.

The identification of the festival, in view of the find-spot of the tablet, seems decisive in favour of some festival celebrated partly in the theatre; obviously the athletic events required the use of a stadium. The Leonidea, which we know from Pausanias (iii. 14, 1) to have been associated with the tomb of Leonidas, 'opposite the theatre,' (cf. p. 264 below) must be ruled out, as, he tells us, the contestants were Spartan citizens only, and this is confirmed by the absence of records, among inscriptions, of foreign victors. Our choice presumably lies between the Eurykleia and the Ourania, which we know, from the instances collected above, to have been frequented by foreign competitors. Between them it seems impossible to decide, for both seem to have been *θεματικοὶ ἀγῶνες* for most of the second century. The presence of the contest in encomium suggests, but does not prove, that the founder, or eponymous hero, of the games was commemorated—and this would suit better the attribution to the Eurykleia. We know, moreover, that this festival changed its status from *θεματικός* to *ἱερός* before the end of the second century, as the victor from Sardes describes it as *νῦν ἱερός*, writing not later than the reign of Severus, while M. Aur. Asklepiades of Alexandria, whose victories all fell in the period A.D. 176–183, alludes to the *Εὐρύκλεια* among *θεματεῖται ἀγῶνες*. If then we accept the identification with the Eurykleia, the date of our record is confirmed as being earlier than that of the change of status. But even now this does not seem decisive in favour of Eurykleia as opposed to Ourania, and the question must remain for the present unsolved.

13 (2795). Complete on r. only; original width quite uncertain. H. ·23; br. ·15; th. ·004. Letters ·009.

[1] There are a father, son and grandson of the name of *Δαμόνικος* known who lived in the second century after Christ; *Θεόδωρος* might be a son of either (cf. *I.G.* v. 1, 112); the name is, however, not very rare.



- - - - - - - - - - - - γοργυρίῳ ι . . .
- - - - - - - - - - - - Κ̣λαυδίου Ἀριστ̣
[οτέλους (?) - - - Ἀ]ριστοκράτους
- - - - - - - - - Μ, σπ′· ἀπὸ τοῦ (10,280)
5 [- - - - - - - - - - πατρ]ο̣νόμων ἐνὶ
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - ε̣ας ἐτῶν
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - . ·τῆς τε
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - τ]ῆς τε
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - εἶ ✳ φ· (500)
10 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - κ̣ετης
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ε
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ν̣α
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - τ̣ο

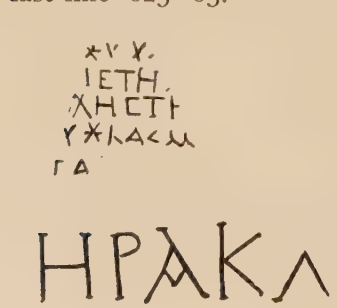
Apparently contained some regulations for a festival. The payment of 500 denarii in l. 9 is reminiscent of the entries in the previous document. No continuous sense is recoverable, much more than half being lost.

L. 1. Γοργυρίῳ. Possibly a diminutive of the rare word γοργύρα, with the sense of subterranean channel or dungeon (cf. Herodotus, iii. 140; Pollux, *s.v.*, Hesych., etc.).

Ll. 2, 3. Both Cl. Aristoteles and Cl. Aristokrates are names known at Sparta in the second century of our era.[1] Perhaps the latter should be restored at the beginning of l. 3.

L. 4. Μ̂, for μ(ύρια), the small A added above to avoid confusion with M(=40).

14 (2796). Broken on all sides, but probably not inscribed below the last line preserved. H. ·185; br. ·14; th. ·002. Letters ·008, but in last line ·025–·03.



- - - - - - - - - - ✳ υ χ. (?) - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - ιετη. - - - - - - - -
[- - - - τῆς στή]λης τῆ̣[ς χαλκῆς (?) - -]
- - - - - - - - υ ✳ κ̣ά· μ - - - - - - - -
5 - - - - - - - - τ̣α (?)
Ἡρακλ̣[εῖ - -]

[1] For (Ti.) Cl. Aristoteles, a name borne by more than one person at Sparta, *I.G.* v. 1, 68, l. 13; 527, 528, 547, 591, 836. For Ti. Cl. Aristokrates, *ibid.* 469, 607, l. 17.

Again an almost hopeless fragment. The cursive-like writing, and small size of the surviving portion increase the difficulty of interpretation. In l. 1 the letter after Τ is very doubtful; if meant for χ it must belong to the beginning of a word following the sum (400).

In l. 2, possibly [τρ]ιετη[ρικὸς ἀγών], *vel sim.*[1] In l. 3, an allusion to a brazen stele, as in No. 12 above. In l. 4 it is not clear if the oblique stroke after the I marks the end of the sum of denarii, or forms part, with the hasta, of K; nor is the sign between the A and M certain. It seems more like a stop than a *sigma*, for this letter is square in l. 3. The restoration in l. 5, Ἡρακλ[εῖ], is of course conjectural.

15 (2797). Fragment from near the top, of tablet with pediment, of which part of l. side is preserved. Apparently nothing is lost from above or the left of the first word preserved. H. ·165; br. ·16; th. ·005. Letters ·015. Surface worn and partly encrusted.

ΣΕΚΣΤΟΣII
ϹΡ ΣΤΩII
ΡΚΑΙϕ
ΤΩΝ
ΥΣ

Σέκστος Ἰ[ομπήϊος Εὔδαμος Ὀνασικράτους]
[ἀρχι]ερ[εὺ]ς τῶν [Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν θείων προγόνων αὐτῶν]
[φιλόκαισα]ρ καὶ φ[ιλόπατρις - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
. . . . . τῶν -
5 . . . . . υδ -

The restoration of ll. 1–3 fulfils certain essential requirements, viz. the name of a man with *praenomen* and *nomen* of Sextus Pompeius, who was also high priest of the Imperial house. The titles φιλόκαισαρ καὶ φιλόπατρις, often held by such priests, though not exclusively, would follow immediately after προγόνων αὐτῶν, and thus shew us the length of l. 2; but the restoration which we thus obtain makes the line inevitably longer than l. 1, even if we abbreviate Σεβαστῶν to Σεββ. (as is not uncommon). The solution seems to lie in the fact that the top of the tablet, being gable-shaped, was utilised by the engraver so as to make l. 1 shorter than l. 2, and to increase the length again in l. 3, by about three letters each time; perhaps he paid less regard to symmetry at the ends of these lines.

The only known holders of the Imperial priesthood with the requisite *praenomen* and *nomen* are S. Pompeius Onasikrates and his son Eudamos,[2]

[1] The final traces did not look like those of P, but rather of an oblique stroke.
[2] In v. 1, 557 and 559 respectively.

and I restore the latter, as the line would be too short with Onasikrates, as his father had the same name, and presumably this would have been shewn by the sign <. Lines 4 and 5 offer no clue to restoration.

DEDICATIONS, ETC.

16 (2725). Small cylindrical altar of white marble, chipped above and broken below. H. ·15; diam. ·10. Letters range from ·012 to ·025, poorly and unevenly cut. (1924; *ca.* 1 m. deep.)

ΔII
ϒΨICTω
ΝΕΙΚΕΡΩC
ΕΥϒ/////

Δι̣ὶ
Ὑψίστῳ
Νεικέρως
εὐχ̣[ήν.]

Νεικέρως only occurs at Sparta twice in a long list of Ephebes (?), v. 1, 159. By a curious coincidence the name before his in the list on its first occurrence is *Διοκλῆς*, the name of the dedicator of the following inscription; the latter, however, is not a rare name there.

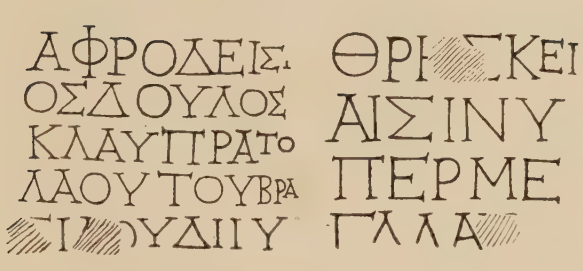
17 (2730). Small rectangular altar of grey marble, with plain moulding above, and hollowed slightly on top; damaged on right. H. ·20; br. and th. ·17. Letters ·02–·026. (1924; built into Byzantine wall over Orchestra.)

ΔΙΟΚΛΗ
ΔΙΙΥΨΙCΤ
ΕΥΧΗΝ

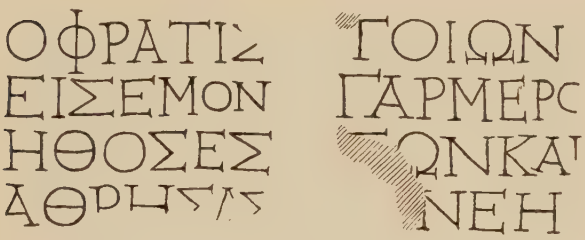
Διοκλῆ[ς]
Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ
εὐχήν.

18 (2758). Rectangular altar of grey marble, with small moulding above. Inscribed on all four sides, broken below. H. ·255; br. ·245; th. ·225. Letters on (*a*) ·012–·025; on (*b*, *c*, *d*) ·03–·036. (1924; stage, near E. end.)

a. *b.*



c. *d.*



a.	*b.*	*c.*	*d.*
Ἀφροδείσι-	Θρηϟκεί-	Ὄφρα τις	Ṭοίων
ος δοῦλος	αισιν ὑ-	εἰς ἐμὸν	γὰρ μερό-
Κλαυ. Πρατο-	περμε-	ἦθος ἐσ-	[π̣]ων καὶ
λάου τοῦ Βρα-	γάλ̣α[ισιν]	αθρ̣ήϟας	[γε]νεή
5 ϟίδ̣ρυ Διὶ Ὑ[ψ-]	- - -	- - - -	- - -
[ίστῳ εὐχήν.]			

The dedicator's master must have been the son of Tib. Cl. Brasidas (I) (cf. Kolbe's *stemma*, v. 1, p. 131), who lived in the first half of the second century. The slave's name is not rare. It is not easy at first sight to complete his poem, which seems to have consisted of two hexameters followed by a pentameter.

The order of arrangement seems obvious, (*b*) being on the right-hand side as one faces (*a*), and (*c*) on the back; thus naturally the pentameter (*d*) comes last, on the left-hand side. I had not arrived at any satisfactory restoration, beyond the conviction that the last line was likely to be a quotation, introduced by a verb to be supplied at the end of (*c*). I am therefore deeply indebted to Professor A. Wilhelm for the following suggestions for the completion of the epigram:

(*b*) Θρηϟκεί|αισιν ὑ|περμε|γάλ̣α[ισιν τόνδ' ἀνέθηκα,]
(*c*) Ὄφρα τις εἰς ἐμὸν ἦθος ἐσ|αθρήϟα̣ϟ̣|[ἀγορεύοι],
(*d*) "Τοίων|γὰρ μερό|π̣ων καὶ [γε]νεὴ [θαλέθει (or θαλερή)."

'I dedicated this (altar) in very great devotion, in order that a man looking at my character might say, "such are the mortals whose race flourisheth."'

The dative in (*b*) must be merely descriptive, though I cannot find another example of such a phrase formed with the word θρησκεία. It is far from common, in any case, in the plural, where we should expect it rather to mean 'religious ceremonies,' 'acts of worship,' as in Dionysius Halic., ii. 63, in reference to religious institutions founded by Romulus. Ὑπερμέγας is likewise a rare epithet, though it has classical authority (cf. L. and S., *s.v.*). Τόνδε (*sc.* βωμόν) is a permissible use of the article without a noun, for which we may compare the dedication to Aphrodite Pandemos from the Beulé Gate (*I.G.* ii. 5, 1531 *b*).[1]

(*c*) Ὄφρα seems very rare except in epic and lyric verse, though it is used in the epigram attributed to Hadrian (*Anth. Pal.* vi. 332, l. 9); we might equally well restore the present subjunctive (ἀγορεύῃ) here. For ἐσαθρεῖν cf. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 151, l. 11. The self-conscious reference to the ἦθος of the dedicator, a slave, is quaint and pleasing.

(*d*) There is a distinctly epic flavour about the last line, reminding us by its combination of μερόπων and γενεή of *Iliad*, i. 250 (Τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων|Ἐφθίαθ'). The verb θαλέθει is perhaps slightly preferable to the epithet without an auxiliary.

This group of dedications to Zeus Hypsistos may easily have come from elsewhere to the theatre, in later times, as building material; all were found associated with Byzantine walls. Another, nameless, dedication Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ εὐχήν is already known (*I.G.* v. 1, 240), though its provenance is not recorded. We have no literary evidence for the Spartan cult of Z. Hypsistos, but Pausanias tells us of a sanctuary of Z. Hypatos on the Acropolis (iii. 17, 6), and a priest of Zeus Hypatos (?) is known in v. 1, 559; actually this stone reads only Διὸς Ὑ - -, so perhaps we should more correctly restore Ὑ[ψίστου]. (Not impossibly Pausanias is in error, and the shrine was, in fact, that of Z. Hypsistos; in this event, we may suppose these inscriptions to have found their way down to the theatre from the Sanctuary on the hill above.)

19 (2731). Small slab of soft limestone, broken on r. and l., and perhaps also above and below. H. (*max.*) ·23; br. (*do.*) ·26; uneven at back, owing to surface flaking off. Letters range between ·054 and ·076 high. (1924; built into a Byzantine wall above the east end of the *Hyposcenium*.)

[1] I am likewise indebted to Professor Wilhelm for this parallel.

Ἄρδοι. Above is incised a ship, to l., with high prow and three decks, with five oars; a square sail is set on the mast.

The style of the letters and of the representation of the ship lead us to date this curious stone to the sixth century B.C. I cannot suggest any explanation, except that it is, in fact, meant for a representation of the Argo. We must then admit that the use of *delta* for *gamma* after a liquid is quite alien to the Laconian dialect, and indeed without close

No. 19. (Scale 1 : 4.)

parallel in any early dialect.[1] Moreover, assuming that this is the dative case, its appropriateness is not obvious. As the ship is represented unbroken, perhaps very little is missing from the inscription, and presumably the word is complete. If rightly identified, it is not easy to trace a connection between the original Argo and any Spartan sanctuary.[2]

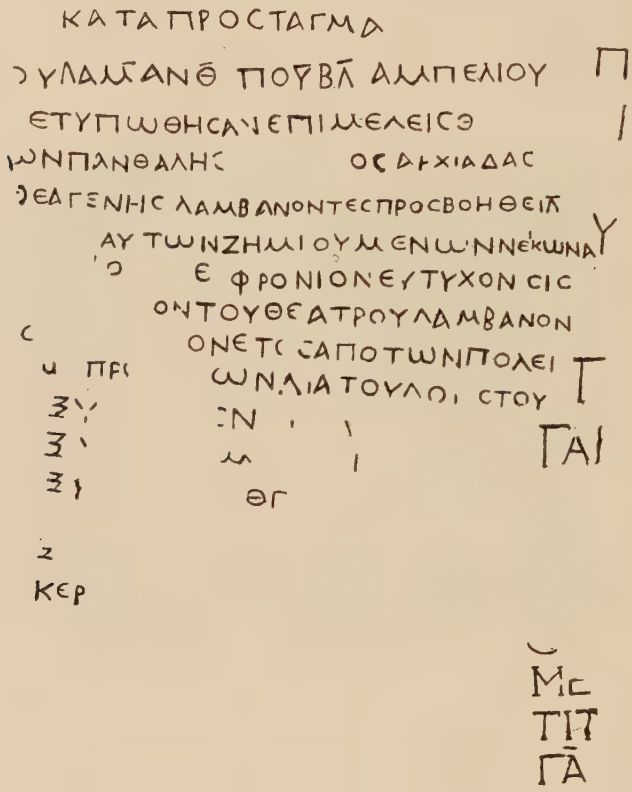
We have another early inscription, accompanying a drawing in outline on stone, in No. 27 below, which is even more unintelligible.

20 (2765). Column of grey marble, with surface much damaged,

[1] We must, however, bear in mind the gloss in Hesychius '*δίφουρα* (*διφοῦρα*?) = *γέφυρα, Lacones*'; and *δέφυρα* occurs once in Crete (*G. D. Inscr.* 5000, ii. *b*, 5) for *γέφυρα*. Cf. Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekte*, ii. p. 692. Here, however, the question rather is, 'how did the *γ* get substituted in Attic for the *δ*'?

[2] Could Athena, who presided over its building, possibly have received this dedication from some Spartan sailor whose ship was called Argo?

containing three inscriptions, of which (*a*) is much later than the others.[1] H. 1·30; diam. *ca.* ·42. Letters, in (*b*) *ca.* ·03; in (*c*) *ca.* ·04; in (*e*) ·014–·021. The column is complete below, but broken above.



(*a*)

Κατὰ πρόσταγμα
[τ]ῳ̣ῦ λαμ(προτάτου) ἀνθ(υπάτου) Πουβλ(ίου) Ἀμπελίου
[δι]ετυπώθησαν ἐπιμελεῖσθ(αι)
. ων Πανθάλης, ... ος, Ἀρχιάδας,
. Θεα̣γένης, λαμβάνοντες πρὸς βοήθεια(ν)
[σφῶν] αὐτῶν ζημιουμένων Νείκωνα,
. . . . . ο . . . . Ε[ὐ]φρόνιον, Εὔτυχον, εἰς
. . . . . ου τοῦ θεάτρου, λαμβάνον-
[τ]ες [καθ' ἕκαστ]ον ἔτ̣ος ἀπὸ τῶν πολει-

[1] The beginning of lines 5, 6 and 8 of (*b*) and 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8 of (*c*) appear at the right-hand edge of the facsimile.

[τικ]ὼ̣[ν] πρ̣ο̣[σόδ]ων δ̣ὶ̣ὰ̣ τοῦ λογ[ι]στοῦ·
ξύ[λα] . . . . ν . . . . α .
ξύ[λα] . . . . μ . . . . η . (?)
ξ̣ύ̣[λα] . . . . . θ̣ρ . (?)
- - - - - - - - - - - - - .
ξ̣[ύλα] - - - - - - - - - .
κερ[αμίδια] - - - .

(*b*)

/////////ΑL/////////
ΝΙΚ ΝΔΡΙ∠///////ΑΓΟΣ
ΔΑΜΙΠΠΟΣ////
ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ////
ΠΛΩΤΙΟΣ/////
ΓΡΑΜΜΑ//////
ΜΑΝΤΕ///////
ΥΠΗΡΕΤΗ/////////////ΟΣ

. . . . . λε̣ - -
Νι̣κ̣[α]νδρίδ[ας βου]αγός.
Δάμιππος - - - -
Μουσαῖος - - - -
Πλώτιος - - - - -
γραμμα[τεὺς] - -
Μ̣. Ἀντ. Ε (?) - -
ὑπηρέτη̣[ς - - - -]ος.

(*c*)

ΠΑΙ/// ϽΙ/////////
ΓΑΙϹ/////////////
//////////ΕΟΣΔΕΞΙΠΠΟ̆
//////////ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟ̆Σ
Ο/////////ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΟ̆Σ
ΜΕΝΙ///ΟΣΙΙΑ/Σ//ϹΡΑΤΟΥΣ
ΤΙΤΟΣ//ΟΥΚΙϽ
ΓᾹΙΟΥ//ΑΓΙΩΝ//ΡΙΑΩΝΙΔΑ

//ϽΑ/////ΙΑΤΕΥΣ
//ΙΝ//ϒ///Π̄///Σ
ΥΠΗΡΕΤ//Σ///ϽΑ///ΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ

Παῖ[ρ]ο̣[νόμοι - -]
Γά(ϊος) Ἰο̣[ύ](λιος) - -
- - - - - εος Δεξίππου.
- - - - - - Περικλέους.
Ο̣ - - - - - Σωσικρατους.
Μένι[ππ]ος Π̣α̣σ[ι]κράτους.
Τίτος [Λ]ουκίο̣υ.
Γά(ϊος) Ἰούλ(ιος) Ἀγίω̣ν Φιλωνίδα.
[γ]ρ̣α̣[μμ]ατεὺς - - - -
Μ̣ν[ά]σ̣[ιπ]π̣[ο]ς (?)
ὑπηρέ̣τ[η]ς [γ]ρ̣α̣(μματέως) [Σ]τέφανος.

The interpretation of (*a*) is made easier by the existence of a somewhat similar document from Chalkis (*I.G.* xii. 9, 907, first published in *B.C.H.* xvi. (1892), pp. 102 ff.; cf. *Syll.*[3], 905). Both relate to the work of building or repairing some public structures, in charge of which a board is appointed, and expenses are to be defrayed out of a yearly allocation from public funds (πολιτικαὶ πρόσοδοι), in accordance with an order from P. Ampelius, *proconsul*

Achaiae. Some of the formulae on our present stone can be explained with the aid of the Chalkis document, and in ll. 8–10 the reading can be restored by the aid of a fragment, also found in the theatre, of a second inscription relating to a similar undertaking (No. 21).

Publius Ampelius was apparently *procos. Achaiae* in A.D. 359, *procos. Africae* in 364, and *Praefectus Urbis* in 370 (cf. *Syll.*[3], 905, notes), and that our inscription is accordingly to be dated to 359 or the following year seems certain. This is the first certain proof of his activity in regard to buildings at Sparta, and thus gives us information of no small importance for the later history of the theatre there.

L. 1. Πρόσταγμα, apparently to be distinguished from διάταγμα meaning a consular edict, seems to mean merely instructions in general; we may compare προστάγματα τῶν ἡγουμένων in the well-known document from Scaptoparene addressed to Gordian III (*Syll.*[3], 888, ll. 81, 153). For its more common use as equivalent to ἐπιταγή, meaning a divine order, in response to which a dedication is made, cf. *Syll.*[3], 1127, 1129, 1153, note 1, and 1171.

L. 3. Διετυπώθησαν: cf. *Syll.*[3], 905, l. 9, διατύπωσις, l. 19, διετυπώθη; and *I.G.* vii. 24, l. 4 (= *Syll.*[3], 908), διετυπώθη. The meaning of the noun is 'a verbal arrangement, of which a record is officially kept,' the subject here being the names of the persons appointed as ἐπιμεληταί (curators) of the building operations ordered. Four are appointed, with four assistants, who in the event of the Board being in financial difficulties, might be called upon to help to bear the loss.[1]

Of the names, the second in each case is irrecoverable. The dubious . ων before Panthales may represent Κων(σταντῖνος); Ἀρχιάδας is far from clear on the stone, but seems to be the only possible reading on the squeeze. In l. 5 there may be a letter lost before Θεαγένης. At the beginning of l. 7 a name of about ten letters is lost, except for O near the middle. (Could it be Νεικοκράτη, as in the first surviving line of the companion-text?)

The construction in ll. 7, 8 is not clear owing to the incompleteness of the text. At the end of l. 7 the alternatives are ЄIC and OIC, for the former of which we must supply an accusative ending in -ον, for the latter a short verb, with [τὸ ἔργ]ον as subject. My first impression, alike from the stone and the squeezes, was that it read OIC (οἷς), but ЄIC seemed likelier on repeated scrutiny. With neither does the reading readily lead us to fill the gap, which seems to have consisted of eight to ten letters. Ἐπετάχθη τὸ ἔργον is much too long, nor can we easily omit the article. I am tempted to choose the alternative εἰς and to restore εἰς [τὸν πέτασ]ον, in the sense of roof, for on an unpublished fragment of inscribed cornice forming part of a long, but still incomplete text,[2] in letters which will fit admirably with the dating of our present document, we have πετάσου preserved. For this sense of the word

[1] This seems the most likely meaning for the word ζημιουμένων, and we may suggest that the ζημία might arise from their exceeding their annual allocation of funds, etc. It is hard to believe the Board would have been kept on, and given assistance, if fined for any fault.

[2] We possess six or seven fragments, none of which can be actually joined.

πέτασος we may compare *C.I.G.* 3422, l. 17 (at Philadelphia, of the Antonine age), and the passage in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 19, 4, where he quotes Varro for the domed roof of the tomb of Porsena.

The remainder, and the corresponding passage in the companion-stone, can be confidently restored, in the light of ll. 19 ff. of the Chalkis document (*Syll.*[3], 905), where we have ὅσον ἕκαστος διετυπώθη λαμβάνειν ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτικῶν προσόδων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὑποτέτακται, followed by the names of the curators and the quantities of material allotted to them. The details in ll. 11–16 are beyond hope of recovery, though we can recognise ξύλα in ll. 11, 12, 13 and 15, and κεραμίδια in l. 16. The following words, perhaps descriptive of the different kinds of timber, or their purpose, are hopelessly mutilated, but, as far as can be seen, they are different from the entries in the corresponding position of the stone from Chalkis.

My attention has been kindly drawn by Professor A. Wilhelm to two other inscriptions which in his opinion relate to the architectural activities of Ampelius at other Greek sites, namely, *I.G.* iv. 53 (= *Epigr. Gr.* 271) from Aegina, and v. 1, 455 from the Amyklaion. The former, in six hexameters, seems (*pace* Kaibel) to refer to some structure in which were statues of the Muses, in a woodland setting, with streams of water; the latter, in eight elegiac lines, alludes to [Ampe]lius making the sanctuary of Amyklai more glorious by a statue erected to himself by -okles (?).

(*b*) The composition and nature of this board of officials are obscure, as the exact number is uncertain; and the presence of a secretary and a servant does not definitely identify it. It is not safe to argue from the following text (*c*) that (*b*) was likewise a list of Patronomoi,[1] as it was a common practice to record lists of more than one board of magistrates together. It is not clear whether the two lists were engraved simultaneously, for, in the worn condition of the stone, the lettering is not sufficiently clear to enable us to claim uniformity, or the contrary, between the two lists. They seem to have a fairly close similarity, in spite of a difference in size of lettering, and the style suggests that they both belong to the early, or mid, second century. The names give little information of value.

L. 2. Νικανδρίδας βοναγός, presumably identical with P. Aelius Nikandridas, who appears in v. 1, 69 and 70 as βοαγός, and whose *cursus honorum* is given in 71 B, ll. 13 ff. (*ca.* A.D. 150). Neither Damippos nor Mousaios is to be identified with other known bearers of the name, and Πλώτιος (= Plautius) appears here for the first time at Sparta. In l. 7 Μαντε—which seems clear, at first sight suggests rather μάντεις than a proper name, but it is unlikely that there would be mention of them here, and we need a name for the Secretary (M. Ἀντ. Ε - -?).

(*c*) In l. 1 Πα̣τ̣[ρ]ο̣[νόμοι seems fairly certain, but contrary to expectation we seem to have seven names, as each line begins with a fresh one.[2] There is no trace of ἐπὶ, to enable us to regard the name in l. 2 as that of the

[1] This is not free from doubt.

[2] The usual Board consisted of six Patronomoi and six σύναρχοι (cf. *I.G.* v. 1, p. 21).

eponymous Patronomos; *πατρονομοῦντος* | Γα. Ἰου[λίου - - is not, however, impossible. None of the persons can be traced elsewhere, though possibly G. Julius Agion son of Philonidas may be a brother of G. Julius Nikephoros Ph. *f.* in v. 1, 66, 67. In l. 10 the name of the Secretary seems most simply restored as Μνάσιππος, but the reading is not very sure. The last line seems only intelligible as *ὑπηρέτης γρα(μματέως)*, which will give us a new official's title. The Board of Patronomoi seem to have had a separate Secretary, in addition to whom they had no less than three *ὑπογραμματεῖς* (v. 1, 48 and 137), and one or two *ὑπηρέται* (*ibid.*). The economy in staff represented by our list—if it indeed be of Patronomoi—is noteworthy.

21 (2760). Split fragment of a similar column. Ht. ·38; diam. ·40. Letters *ca.* ·021, resembling those of (*a*) on previous stone. (1924; above lower seats in W. of *cavea*.)

		- - - -
ΝΕΙΚΟΚΡΑΤΗ⌣		Νεικοκράτη[ς ?] - - -
ΕΙCΤΗΝCΤΟΑΝΤ		εἰς τὴν στοὰν τ[οῦ θεάτρου ?]
ΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΝΤ		λαμβάνοντ[ες καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος]
ΑΠΟΤΩΝΠΟΛ		ἀπὸ τῶν πολ[ειτικῶν προσόδων]
ΔΙΑΤΟΥΛΟΓΙCΤ	5	διὰ τοῦ λογιστ[οῦ].
ΕΙC		εἰς - -
Κ		κ[εραμίδια ?] - -
ΕΙC		εἰς - -
Ξ		ξ[ύλα ?] - -

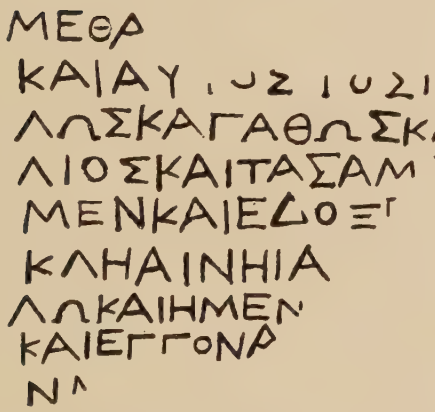
As we have seen above, this is from a document resembling in contents, and presumably in date, the previous item. Probably two names are lost from l. 1, but whether they should be in the nominative, as subjects of *διετυπώθησαν* (restored), or in the accusative, as objects of *λαμβάνοντες*, is uncertain, as there may not have been any mention of assistant-curators on this stone. Νεικοκράτης does not appear on the other one, though his name may have stood at the beginning of l. 7, where only *ο* is decipherable near the middle of the name.

The average length of line being about twenty-four letters, as is seen in l. 4, I hesitate to restore the two other names from those in the corresponding position in the previous text (l. 7, Εὐφρόνιον, Εὔτυχον), as this would give us twenty-six letters, but the objection is not insuperable, with this rather irregular script. In l. 2, possibly *τ[ὴν τοῦ θεάτρου]*,

giving us just twenty-four letters. The inscription having been found at the theatre, and the other text referring explicitly to it, we may well assume that the Stoa was situated there also. Perhaps we should connect with this Stoa the inscribed cornice already mentioned; in this case the inscription on it will refer to both pieces of work, for, as we have seen, it mentions the word *πέτασος*.

The items in ll. 6–9 are presumably entries relating to materials, and, on the analogy of the previous text, we may expect them to include *κεραμίδια* and *ξύλα*.

22 (2776). Portion of stele of grey Laconian marble, complete on left only. H. ·22; br. ·21; th. ·12. Letters ·01–·014. (April, 1925; *cavea* of theatre, near topmost seats, close to surface.)



- -
μεθα -
καὶ αὐτὸς τοσι[- - - - - - - - - - - - *κα-*]
λῶς κἀγαθῶς κα[*ὶ ἀξίως τᾶς ἑαυτῶν πό-*]
λιος καὶ τᾶς ἀμ[*ετέρας* - - - - - - - - - -]
μεν καὶ ἔδοξε [*τôι δάμοι ἐπαινέσαι* - - -]
κλῆ Αἰνηία [*καὶ* - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
λω καὶ ἦμεν [*προξένος τᾶς πόλιος αὐτὸς*]
καὶ ἔγγονα - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
να -

Apparently from a proxeny-decree, and, in view of l. 6, in favour of more than one recipient. The suggested restoration gives us twenty-nine letters in l. 3, and thirty-one in l. 7 ; a short name like Nikokles or Philokles, with four letters lost to supply at the end of l. 5, will give us there thirty-two letters. These differences might well occur, as we see from the facsimile that the spacing and size of the letters are uneven.

L. 2. Whether we are to read *αὐτός* as nom. singular or acc. plural is not clear, nor in either event is it certain whether we should continue *τὸς ι* - - or *τὸ σι* - -; the last sign is quite doubtful.

L. 4 f. Another obscure passage: it is not easy to understand the formula of resolution, in view of *μεν καί* before it. Is the former the end of *ἦμεν* (or some other infinitive), or of a verb in the first person plural?

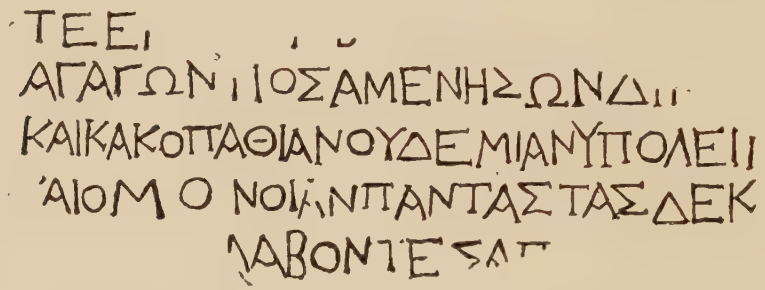
L. 6 f. We should presumably restore a second name with a patronymic

ending *e.g.* in -βουλω, though the two letters surviving at the beginning of l. 7 might be from an ethnic (Αἰτώλω?) in the dual.

L. 8. For the less usual neuter form ἔγγονα we may compare Michel, *Rec.* 446, l. 6, a proxeny-decree from Aptera in Crete.

The letter-forms and the dialect suggest the third century B.C.

23 (2781). Portion of stele of grey Laconian marble, broken on all sides. H. ·125; br. ·30; th. ·11. Letters *ca.* ·115, neatly cut, but irregularly spaced. (1925; from trench along W. Parodos-wall.)



- - - τε ε . . . . . β - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - αγαγὼν ποσαμενησων δι - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - καὶ κακοπαθίαν οὐδεμίαν ὑπολείπ[ουτες - -]
- - - - καὶ ὁμόνοιαν πάντας, τὰς δὲ κ - - - - - - - - - -
5 - - - - - - - - - λαβόντες ἀπ - - - - - - - - - -

The contents as far as intelligible indicate that this is from the preamble to a decree honouring some arbitrators.

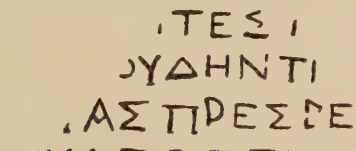
Much remains obscure: little can be made of l. 1, and in l. 2 ποσαμενησων can only be due to some mistake of engraving. I suspect the right reading to be ποησαμένων, though the error is a strange one. Had the engraver merely omitted a letter (η) from ποησαμένης we should be left with a real difficulty in explaining ων δι. There seem to be two letters after the *delta*, perhaps ικ, as there is no trace of a cross-stroke to enable us to read *eta*. Perhaps the first word should be restored as a compound participle, [εἰσ-] or [διεξ]αγαγών. It cannot refer to the presumed arbitrators, as we have - - λαβόντες in l. 5, and I accordingly restore ὑπολείπ[ουτες] in l. 3.

L. 3 gives us a more recognisable phrase, referring to the diligence of the recipients of the decree in shrinking from no hardship in the execution of their duties. A more common expression than κακοπαθίαν οὐδεμίαν ὑπολείπειν is οὔτε κ. οὐδεμίαν οὔτε κίνδυνον ὑποστέλλεσθαι (as in *Syll.*³, 547, l. 9; 613, l. 33; 700, l. 29). In l. 4 there is mention of successful reconciliation, or settlement of some dispute, and we should restore somehow thus: [καταστήσαντες εἰς

φιλίαν] καὶ ὁμόνοιαν πάντας.[1] Whether the word beginning κ - - is the object of the participle in the last line is not clear. Possibly we have some more lengthy variant of the phrase τὰς δὲ κρίσεις καὶ διαίτας (*vel sim.*) παραλαβόντες, as in *Syll.*[3], 364, l. 7 f.

The poor quality of the lettering gives no clear indication of the date of this fragment, but it can hardly be later than the first century of our era, nor earlier than the late second century B.C.

24 (2780). Part of lower left-hand side of stele of grey marble. The original edge is preserved on the left, but the first few letters have perished owing to damage to the surface. A space of ·13 m. is left blank below. H. ·25; br. ·20; th. ·12. Letters ·01. (1925; far end of E. retaining-wall, among fallen blocks.)

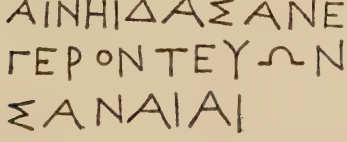


. . . . . ντες τ - - - - -
[. . . σπ]ουδὴν τι(π ?) - -
[ἐπὶ] τᾶς πρεσβε[ίας - -]
[. ο]υ, Κλεογένη[ς - - - - -]

Kleogenes is not a common Laconian name, the only epigraphical instance being the name of a man manumitted at Tainaron (v. 1, 1228).[2] This fragment seems to be the end of a document commending the zeal of certain members of an embassy, the first three letters of l. 4 containing the end of the patronymic of one of Kleogenes's colleagues. Allusions to the σπουδή of such ambassadors and others are, of course, common; we have another instance below, No. 27, l. 4. Perhaps dates from the second century B.C.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM OTHER SITES.

25 (2775). Stele of white marble with plain gable-top, broken below. H. ·41; br. ·495; th. ·065. Letters ·02–·034. (May, 1924; Acropolis, in late wall S. of Chalkioikos Sanctuary.)



Αἰνηίδας ἀνέσηκε
γεροντεύων ταῖ Ἀ-
σαναίαι.

[1] Cf. *Syll.*[3], 588, l. 4, [κ]αταστησάντων εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχ[ῆς φι]λίαν.
[2] It is quite common elsewhere in Greece.

The name Aineïdas is not hitherto known at Sparta, but kindred forms are not rare; cf. Αἰνηίας in No. 22 above, Αἰνησίας (Thucyd. ii. 2; Xen., *Hell.* ii. 3, 9), and another in *I.G.* v. 1, 703; Αἴνητος (v. 1, 701, and cf. Paus. iii. 18, 6).

For the form ἀνέσηκε we have parallels in two dedications both apparently of the fourth century (v. 1, 255 and 1317).[1] The same substitution of σ for θ in Ἀσαναίαι is the first known instance of the Goddess's name being so spelt, apart from an archaising text of the Imperial age (v. 1, 296, l. 12, where we have Ἀσάνεα as the name of the festival).[2] It has also been found recently on more than one vase-fragment from the Acropolis (Chalkioikos Sanctuary); cf. Fig. 10, *s*, p. 306; p. 309, note 2 below.

For another dedication by a member of the Gerousia (to Pasiphaë, at Thalamai) cf. v. 1, 1317, cited above, where the same participle is also used. The date of our inscription can hardly be much later than the middle of the fourth century. The plain portion of the stele below the text probably was originally painted.

26 (2737). Upper part of a votive stele, originally supporting a bronze statuette or similar dedication, from which a plain rectangular plate of that metal alone survives. Apparently of Parian marble. H. ·41; br. of inscribed face ·205; th. do. ·16. Letters (retrograde) *ca.* ·02 high. (1924; re-used in late wall near No. 25, on Acropolis.)

ΣΙΗΙΣΤ Τείηις.

No such name is hitherto known at Sparta.[3] For the intervocalic H, cf. Thumb, *Handbuch d. Gr. Dialekte*, p. 86 f., § 92; Buck, *Dialects*, p. 51, § 59; Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekte*, ii. p. 320 f. The lettering suggests *ca.* 520–480 as the probable date; the shape of the *sigma* is most unusual for Sparta, the earliest examples having five strokes as a rule. A similar dedication, with only the name of the donor, is the relief of Anaxibios (v. 1, 215), also from the same site (found in 1908).

27 (2744). Part of slab of grey marble, much worn, complete only on r. (?), with incised design of men (?) dancing. H. ·19; br. ·14;

[1] See Wilamowitz's note on the date of v. 1, 255.

[2] For the substitution of σ for θ cf. Thumb, *Handbuch d. Gr. Dialekte*, § 95; Buck, *Dialects*, p. 55, § 64; Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekte*, ii, p. 303.

[3] Cf. Τείσις at Tenos, *I.G.* xii. 5, 873, l. 8, and such feminine names as Τεισίππη, *I.G.* ii. 2714.

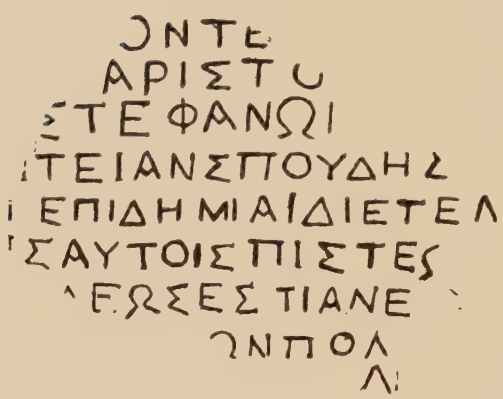
th. ·05. Letters ·011–·012. (April, 1924; found in the stream north of the Acropolis, Gen. Plan **L 11.**)

Perhaps the dedicator's name. Nothing like it is known at Sparta. In fact no similar name is known to me. It might possibly be connected with *κνύειν*, to scratch (cf. Arist., *Thesm.* 481). The style of this drawing on marble, and of No. 19 above, is an unexpected addition to our knowledge of Spartan art. Incised drawings of an earlier period, on bone as

Κνυμον. (complete?)

well as ivory, were found, not infrequently, among the votive objects at the Orthia Sanctuary, which also yielded some small sketches on soft stone (cf. *B.S.A.* xxiv. p. 97 f.); but the thicker line and larger scale of these pieces, as well as the later date of No. 27, which cannot be earlier than the fifth century, justify us in classing them as a new type.

28 (2810). Fragment of stele of bluish marble, broken on all sides. H. ·17; br. ·22; th. ·16. Letters ·01. (May 13th, 1925; outside S.-W. corner of ruined Byzantine Church on the Acropolis (H. Nikon?).)



- - - - - - - - - - - - οντε[ς -
- - - - - - - - - - ἀριστο̣ -
- - - - - - - - - στεφάνωι -
[- - - τὴν πολ]ι̣τείαν σπουδῆς [καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐδὲν ἐνλείποντες]
5 [- - - - ἐπὶ τῆ]ι ἐπιδημίαι διετέλ[εσαν - - - - - - - - - ἀξίως τῆς]
[ἐγχειρισθείσ]ης αὐτοῖς πίστεω̣[ς - - - - - καλέσαι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς]
[εἰς τὴν τῆς πό]λεως ἑστίαν ε -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - ω̣ν πολ[ιτῶν? - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - λ -

Here again we seem to have a reference to honours conferred on more than one recipient, in view of - - *οντε*[ς in l. 1, and *αὐτοῖς* in l. 6. There seem to have been somewhere near fifty letters per line, though we cannot complete any one exactly. Certain restorations, *e.g.* in ll. 4–7 inclusive, run on familiar lines. Ἐπιδημία is more commonly found in such a phrase as *ἐ. καὶ ἀναστροφὴν ποιεῖν (-σθαι)* [1]; and for *εἰς τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἑστίαν* we might have expected *εἰς (ἐπὶ) τὴν κοινὴν ἑ.* (as in *Syll.*[3], 739, l. 10, and *ibid. passim*). In l. 5 no doubt a participle is to be supplied with διετέλ[εσαν], but owing to uncertainty as to the nature of the services commended, we had best omit it.

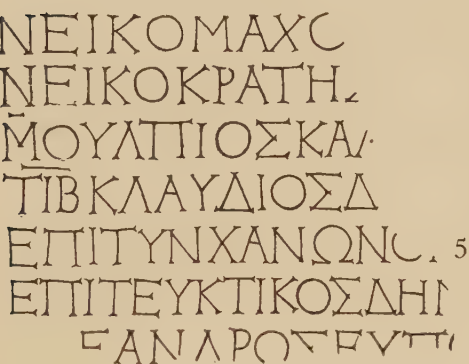
We must also note the use of the *κοινή* in this inscription; it is not impossible for it to be a copy of a document passed elsewhere, as the style of lettering, especially the type of *omega*, is suggestive of a date earlier than we should expect to find the *κοινή* employed at Sparta.[2]

[1] *E.g. Syll.*[3], 658, l. 10 f.; 711 k., l. 8.

[2] Several more fragments of the same text, found in the excavations of 1926, enable us to see that it was a copy of a decree passed by the city of Eretria in honour of a board of *dikastai* sent by Sparta. The complete text will be published as soon as possible.

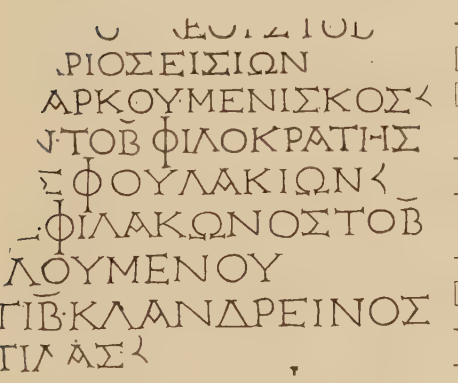
29 (2809). Broken slab of bluish marble, inscribed on both sides. H. ·30; br. ·40; th. ·065. Letters, on (*a*) ·03, on (*b*) ·02. (May 12th, 1925; close to finding place of No. 25.)

(*a*)



[Γέροντες ἐπὶ Σειπόμπου τοῦ Κλέωνος]
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Νεικόμαχο[ς Ἁρμονείκου.]
Νεικοκράτης [Νεικομήδους?]
M. Οὔλπιος Καλ[λικράτης-.]
Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Δ[αμο(?) - -.]
Ἐπιτυνχάνων Ὀ[νησιφόρου.]
Ἐπιτευκτικὸς Δημ - -
[Κλ]έανδρος Εὐτ[όρου.]

(*b*)



- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ο[κλ]έους τὸ β′.
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - Οὐ]άριος Εἰσίων
[- - - - - - Νικηφόρος Μ]άρκου. Μενίσκος (Μενίσκου).
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - ν τὸ β′. Φιλοκράτης
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - ς. Φουλακίων (Φουλακίωνος).
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - ς Φιλάκωνος τὸ β′.
[Σωσικράτης(?) Φι]λουμένου.
- - - - - - - - - - . Τιβ. Κλ. Ἀνδρεῖνος
- - - - - - - - κρα]τίδας (-[κρα]τίδα).

This must be from a list of the Gerousia, and in view of the larger lettering on (*a*) we may assume it to be the obverse of the stele. This is confirmed by the fact that on it each name begins a fresh line, which is not the case on (*b*). Remains of nineteen members' names are recognisable, which indicates that not much is lost; thus there cannot have been a second column of entries on (*a*).[1]

An almost convincing clue to the year is given by (*b*), l. 3, for Meniskos (M. *f.*) tells us in his *cursus honorum* (v. 1, 32 B, l. 25 f.) that he was

[1] It is just possible, though an unnecessary assumption, that there were two separate lists, one on each side. In this case the difference in the size of the lettering would not be easy to account for.

Γερουσίας under Seipompos son of Kleon. Now he mentions no other tenure of that office, though some later posts are recorded, and he is recording his *cursus* many years after the year of Seipompos. The possible objection that he may after all be serving a second time here (the entry τὸ β′ having been carried over to the beginning of the following line) is not vital, for, although two names on our list later than his are accompanied by this numeral, that immediately before him is not. These arguments seem to justify us in attributing the list to the year of Seipompos, who held the Patronomate in the reign of Hadrian.[1]

Νεικόμαχο[ς Ἀρμονείκου], in view of the rarity of the former name, is a probable restoration, based on No. 2 (*c*) above, combined with v. 1, 157, whence we see that he was Nomophylax under Ulpius Aphthonetos.

L. 2. Νεικοκράτης is a common name, no less than three bearers of it being known, whose fathers' names begin with Neiko- (cf. v. 1, 97, l. 9; 101, l. 4; and No. 1, C 3 (*b*), above). The last-named, N. Νεικομήδους, is Nomophylax in the year of another Nikokrates, and is more likely than either of the others to be the man here concerned; he may, however, be an altogether different bearer of the name.

L. 3. M. Οὔλπιος Καλ[λικράτης], a fairly safe restoration, is also known as Ephor under Cl. Atticus (v. 1, 62, l. 7), for whose date see above, p. 188 f.

L. 4. Uncertain. Τιβ. Κλ. Δ[αμόνικος] or [- - νίκης] are both possible; Ti. Cl. Dionysios, a member of the Gerousia some years later, under Biadas (No. 1, C 10, above), is out of the question.

L. 5. Ἐπιτυγχάνων Ὀ[νησιφόρου] seems certain. We know him as Ephor under Eudamidas (v. 1, 64, l. 2, early in the reign of Pius).

L. 6. Ἐπιτευκτικὸς Δημ - - is unknown, the former name being new to us[2]; for the type of name we may compare, in addition to the previous entry, Ἐπιτευκτᾶς in v. 1, 159, l. 40 (rest.).

L. 7. Κλέανδρος Εὐπόρου seems a safe restoration, and he will then be identical with the Kl. Eup. *f.* who is Ephor (rest.) in v. 1, 73, l. 4, and perhaps Γερουσίας in 113, l. 4 (a fragmentary list). If the identification of the person, and of the nature of this second list, is correct, he will have held office as a member of the Γερουσία more than once.

(*b*) L. 1. Perhaps - - [Θε]οκλέους or [Φιλ]οκλέους, an insufficient clue to identity.

L. 2. -άριος seems to be the end of a *nomen*, which is not impossibly Varius.[3] It cannot be either Οὐαλέριος or Φλάβιος, as the letters αρ are certain.

[1] Cf. p. 188 above.

[2] It is probably, however, to be restored in v. 1, 78, l. 11, where five or six letters are lost before -κτικός.

[3] Hitherto unknown in Laconia.

Εἰσίων, only known (in a restoration) in v. 1, 199, l. 7, is otherwise a new name to us at Sparta.[1]

L. 3. -άρκου can hardly be any name but [M]άρκου, and [Νικηφόρος M]άρκου, a Nomophylax in the year of Meniskos (v. 1, 59; cf. No. 1, B 9 above), will suit well. Μενίσκος (Μενίσκου), whom I have mentioned already, seems later on to have acquired the Roman citizenship (or if not himself, at least his son; cf. No. 1, C 5, above).

L. 4. Our choice among bearers of the name of Φιλοκράτης is too large to let us identify this one.

L. 5. Φουλακίων is quite unknown, nor can I trace the name elsewhere.[2]

L. 6. This may be a son of Φιλάκων Δαμοκράτους, πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων in v. 1, 79, l. 2 (*ca.* A.D. 100).

L. 7. I restore [Σωσικράτης Φι]λουμενοῦ from v. 1, 40, l. 20 f., where he is perhaps Nomophylax.[3]

L. 8. Ti. Cl. Andreinos is hitherto unknown; nor can I trace the name elsewhere.

L. 9. Perhaps [Δαμοκρα]τίδας (Δ.).

30 (2782). Rectangular slab of grey Laconian marble, broken below only. H. ·30; br. ·36; th. ·085. Letters ·02. (April, 1925; built into wall at N.-E. corner of Roman Villa (General Plan **M 15**)).

Ζανὶ
Ἐλευθερίοι
Ἀντωνείνοι
Σωτῆρι.

An exceptionally well-cut example of this class of inscription. No less than thirty-nine examples of it are collected in the *Corpus* (v. 1, 407–445), and many are adorned, as is this one, with wreath and palms. The spelling -οι for -ῳ in ll. 2, 3 is constant throughout the series.[4]

A. M. WOODWARD.

[1] Cf. Isio(n), Dessau, *I.L.S.*, 6150, 8107, 8235; and Εἰσιγένης above, No. 1, C 10.

[2] Is it connected with φύλαξ, etc.? (cf. Φυλάξων, Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen*, p. 458).

[3] The interpretation of the last few lines is uncertain, owing to the damaged state of that text.

[4] I am much indebted to Mr. M. N. Tod for reading this article in proof, and for various helpful suggestions.

EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1924–25.

§ 4.—The Acropolis.

(Plates XVII–XXII.)

1.—The Site.

The Hieron of Athena Chalkioikos was identified and to a large extent excavated in 1907, by the late Mr. Guy Dickins, who completed the task in the following year. Accounts of these campaigns, and of the principal finds, were published by him in the *Annual* (xiii. pp. 137–154, and xiv. pp. 142–146, respectively). This undertaking was practically limited to the thorough exploration of the area enclosed within the wall of the Hieron (*B.S.A.* xiii., *l.c.*, Fig. 1), and except for the uncovering of the south face of the south wall, and for one trial trench about twenty metres in length, running southwards from the centre of this wall, no excavation took place to the south of the Precinct, in the area contained between it and the retaining-wall of the *cavea* of the theatre below. As this trench had yielded a large quantity of pottery, including fine fragments of the local Geometric style, a systematic exploration of this area seemed a duty, to be undertaken without delay, when operations were resumed in 1924.

Work commenced on April 7th, 1924, and lasted until the end of the season (May 31st); in 1925, from April 13th to May 30th. The number of men employed seldom exceeded ten, though about sixteen were at work in the second half of May 1924. Miss M. B. Hobling was in charge, during both seasons, under my general supervision, and in May 1924, Miss W. Lamb took charge of two trial trenches, which yielded valuable results, near the western end of the area under examination.[1] The first trials were made south of the east end of the Chalkioikos, and revealed

[1] This account has been compiled by the Director from records inserted in the log-book by Miss Hobling, Miss Lamb and himself, but to Miss Hobling is due the credit for the careful records of finds and full notes on the stratification for the greater part of the site, including all those for the campaign of 1925.

almost at once the presence of Roman houses, a well-preserved rubble wall with pinkish mortar (D 1 on the plan, Pl. XVII), running N.-S., and not long afterwards its westward return coming to light. Following the former down to its foundations we found that the stiff red clay in which it was set, changed abruptly, on its east side, to an intensely black, sooty earth, in which objects of bronze and vase-fragments began to come to light. One of the earliest finds among the former was a mirror with an incised dedication to Athena (No. 5 below); this together with a black-glazed sherd similarly inscribed led us to the important conclusion that we were dealing with accumulated debris of votive objects from the Sanctuary above. This was confirmed by our finding more inscribed offerings, later in the first season, in the westernmost trial trench dug by Miss Lamb, south of the west end of the Hieron. Having ascertained the fact that this deposit existed, and extended the whole length of the region in front of the Hieron, we saw clearly that we must prepare to excavate it fully, in order to ascertain its southward extension and its relations to the back wall of the *cavea*. This task was not within sight of completion at the end of 1925, but its results fully justify a report on the first two seasons.

The Portico.

The only structure of Hellenic date which we uncovered was situated immediately south of, and parallel to, the south wall of the Chalkioikos-precinct. It consisted of a wall 11·20 m. long forming the north side, with a return on the west 3·50 m. long, built of irregular and mostly unworked stones, without mortar. The three lowest courses, which were all that remained on the west and at a point near the centre of the north wall, were of larger and rather flatter stones than those above; some were of a dark grey, slaty stone, others of limestone: the upper courses were of smaller material, with little or no attempt at coursing.[1] The width of the north wall varied between ·90 and 1·10 m., and that of the west return between 1·10 and 1·25 m.; the former, at its best-preserved point, is standing to a height of 1·60 m. The foundation-course lies at a depth of 1·40 below that of the Chalkioikos-wall to the north, and since, moreover, the north face of our new wall is left very rough, there need

[1] A Byzantine wall was built over the eastern end of the north wall, almost in line with it.

be no doubt that it was not visible on this side and that the wall must have formed a terrace at a lower level. This north wall had been entirely removed at its east end, and no certain traces of a return were visible. The south wall was of an altogether different style. When first found it consisted of a central stretch, 3·90 m. long, built of miscellaneous blocks mostly of dressed *poros*, flanked on the east by two isolated blocks of the same material, each one metre long, and separated by a space of about

FIG. 1.—BASES FORMING SOUTH WALL OF PORTICO (LOOKING WEST).

·50 m.; on the west, at a further distance, was a single *poros* block of about the same length, standing a little to the north of the wall-line, and abutting on, but not built into, the west return. From the east end of the central stretch a short northward return, also built of *poros* blocks, projected rather more than half-way across the enclosure, leaving a space of 1·20 m. suggestive of a doorway. Near the presumed S.-E. angle, a large dressed *poros* block [1] was standing on end, but its dimensions

[1] Ht. 1·24; br. ·88; th. ·34 m.

did not indicate a definite connection with the rest of the structure, and its presence might have been due to a later disturbance.[1] During a further examination of this region in the second campaign we removed part of the central stretch of the wall, and found, as had been previously surmised, that it was a later patchwork, and that the original southern boundary of the enclosure had merely consisted of a row of rectangular *poros* blocks, of which five in all, of uniform type, had survived (as seen in Fig. 1); that at the S.-W. corner was of different proportions, but may nevertheless have belonged to the original form of the building. Each of these five blocks measures: l. 1·00 m.; br. ·55 m.; ht. ·50 m. On the upper surface is a shallow sinking ·54 m. wide extending the whole breadth of the stone from back to front, as though to carry a small base—possibly for a wooden column (?); there is no dowel-hole nor other cutting as a proof of a superimposed course. The partition-return seems also to be contemporary with the rebuilding of the south wall.[2] The area enclosed by the walls as above described was excavated down to virgin clay, and its stratification proved to lie as follows (cf. Fig. 2) :—

A. In the western half of the enclosure—

1. Surface-earth, *ca.* ·40 m. deep; finds unimportant, except for a quantity of Roman amphorae and jars, found exclusively in a small area (*ca.* 1·5 × 2·5 m.) above the centre of the northern portion of the enclosure. All lay west of the Roman wall D 1, already mentioned (Pl. XVII).

2. A filling of red clay, increasing in depth from a few cmm. above the north wall to *ca.* one metre where it overlay the row of bases; the depth increased still more beyond the latter (cf. below, p. 245). This contained no finds.

3. A thin black stripe, diminishing from *ca.* ·20 m. to a barely visible streak, extending over the north and west walls and across the enclosure, except where disturbed by the Roman occupation mentioned above; finds in it were scanty, but included archaic objects.

4. Reddish earth (containing some decomposed unbaked brick ?), of a maximum vertical depth of *ca.* ·50 m., which shaded nearly into black as it went downwards. This contained scarcely any finds. These four layers, as the section shews, fall steeply, in agreement with the slope of the hill-side.

5. A layer of rather loose cobbles, which covered the whole enclosure

[1] There was a poor Byzantine wall nearly above it, and many traces of disturbance to the south and east of the block.

[2] The plan (Pl. XVII) shews the bases after the later additions had been removed. The original appearance is shewn in the plan published in 1924 with the preliminary report (Fig. 4).

except for a strip about one metre wide along the north and west walls (perhaps indicating that the building of the walls had been responsible for removing the cobbles there).

6 *a*, *b*. Two narrow stripes, each barely ·10 m. thick, the upper of yellow, and the lower of red clay.

7. A deposit of black carbonised earth, varying from ·20 m. in depth near the north wall to ·50 m. near the bases, sandwiched with thin layers of greasy grey clay; the clay was not present in the narrow strips, above mentioned, along the north and west walls. The finds in this deposit were mostly contained in the said strips.

8. A layer of firmly laid cobbles, resting on red (practically undisturbed) clay. Strata 5–8 inclusive lie nearly horizontal along both axes, except that

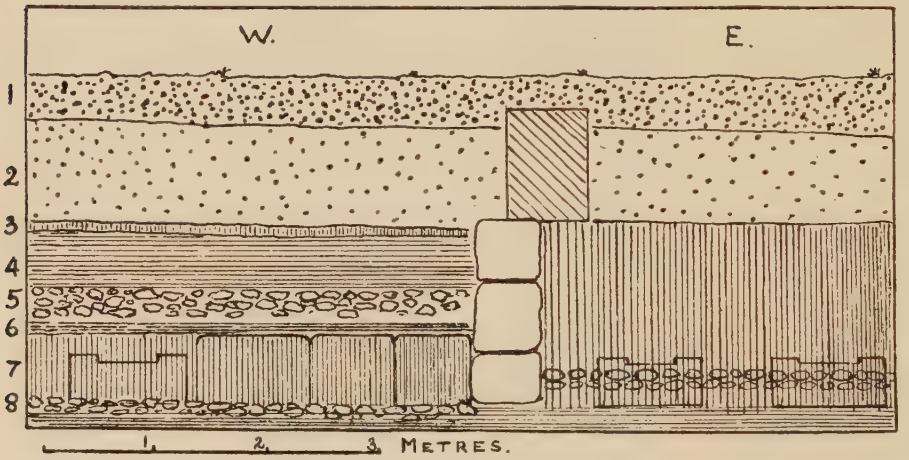


FIG. 2.—DIAGRAM OF STRATIFICATION WITHIN THE PORTICO.

the cobbles slope downwards to the south, gradually at first (*ca.* 14°), but when half a metre short of the row of bases the slope increases (to 50°).

B. East of the partition the stratification was simpler. The two upper levels agree with those on the west, but directly below the clay filling (No. 2) comes a productive black deposit, which attained a depth of fully a metre alongside the north wall, and was of a more powdery (almost sooty) consistency than the black layer (No. 7) in the western portion. Below this we found cobbles, which lay at a slightly higher level than those to the west (No. 8), and beneath them again, and resting mostly on the undisturbed clay, was a narrow stratum of blackish earth (of a *maximum* thickness of ·27 m.). At one point near the centre of the

eastern portion, a shallow pit was found dug into the undisturbed clay, and contained a large quantity of iron; this had been worked on the spot, for much slag and clear signs of burning accompanied the finished pieces—a spear-head, and numerous spits (*obeloi*)—which lay in and around the pit. There was also some bronze slag, and a curved piece of plain bronze plate (a shoulder-piece from a cuirass ?).

In considering the date and purpose of this enclosure, it must be noted that there did not seem to be any recognisable difference in the date of the finds from the levels below the black stripe (No. 3). There was very little Geometric ware in either the western or the eastern portions, the dominating type of pottery being black-glazed, of a type probably attributable to the fifth and fourth centuries. Both Laconian II, and definitely Hellenistic sherds came up together in the lower black deposit, with bronzes of different dates; and in the upper cobbles Roman pottery was represented along with the above-named groups. We must also observe that outside the enclosure the stratification shewed a striking contrast. The black stripe (No. 3), found both to north and west of the bounding walls on these sides, proved richer in early pottery, for the proportion of Geometric and early Laconian to black-glazed was noticeably higher here than within the walls. Different again was the evidence obtained by trenching south of the line of bases. Here, our upper levels (1 and 2) were similar to those north of them, apart from the feature, already noted, of the increase in the depth of the red clay filling. Below this came a thin black deposit, beginning just below the level of the rebuilt south wall, and containing among datable finds, an Orientalising pin-head, and below this again a layer of reddish-brown earth containing a high proportion of Geometric sherds; indeed they seemed to outnumber all other types together.

Further south, namely south of the Roman wall (D 2), the accumulated deposit shewed again different features: the clay layer (No. 2) attains a depth of fully 2·50 metres before one reaches the back of the retaining-wall of the *cavea*, and exhibits a streaky appearance, as it has a wide stripe of yellow clay between two of red. Below this is (3) a layer of black earth, with unimportant, mixed sherds, etc., then (4) a layer of cobbles in black earth; then comes (5) a thin stripe of dark, purplish earth, with Geometric sherds only, resting on the undisturbed clay. In the eastern half of this area, in the angle formed by the Roman walls,

D 1, D 2 (Pl. XVII), the total depth of deposit was very slight, and we may safely infer that we are close to its outer edge. At the other extremity of the area cleared, at a point about three metres west of a line drawn south from the S.-W. angle of the Chalkioikos-precinct, the deposit dwindles to a thin layer, very unproductive of objects of importance (and cf. below, p. 252). This is noteworthy, as shewing that the deposit of which the presence had originally been verified in Mr. Dickins' trench in 1907, midway along the south of the precinct-wall, was presumably coterminous with that wall, as regards its extension from east to west. We have now also found it running down the hill for a distance of about eleven metres, as far as the *cavea*-wall, and, as we shall shortly see, near its western end we traced it for some three metres still further in a southerly direction.

What was the relation, to this extensive deposit, of the structure which we have described? We have seen that the lower strata in the building lie nearly horizontally, its paving of cobbles being mostly on a much more gentle slope than the strata outside. Secondly, it is noteworthy that its foundations, lying, as regards the north wall, 1·40 m. below those of the Chalkioikos-wall, prove that the original form of the building was planned on a terrace at a correspondingly lower level. To attain this the ground was cut away, and the north wall of the structure built to retain the earth above. This excavation of the previous slope explains convincingly the difference of stratification within and outside the structure. We need not doubt that the presence of a rich layer in which Geometric sherds predominate, just south of the south wall, and its absence to the north of that wall, is due to this levelling-down of the strata to get a nearly horizontal bed for the interior of the structure. The almost complete absence of Geometric ware inside it, and, moreover, the mixed type of pottery found there, forbid us to set the date of the original building back to a very early period. The use of *poros*, on the other hand, and the fact that the south wall was rebuilt in Greek times, are no less sure a proof that we must date it back to the fifth century, if not the sixth. If we could be quite sure that all the objects found within it were placed there after the building was completed, we should have to put its date back well into the sixth century, on account of the great bronze Gorgon and the lion-*protome* (pp. 266 ff., Nos. 1 and 2) which came to light in it. In view, however, of their having been perhaps brought from elsewhere, and dedicated long after they

were originally made, we must not take them as a sure criterion for the date of the building. We may conclude from the style of the five *poros* blocks, as suggested above, that they served to carry some sort of colonnade, probably not of masonry, and thus formed the front of a columnar portico, with a lean-to roof.

The thick layer of burnt material (No. 7), in which most of the finds occurred, seems due rather to destruction by fire of the wooden roof than to the accumulated deposit from burnt offerings, for we found nothing which could have served as an altar, and there was a total absence of burnt bone-fragments.

The principal finds from within this portico were as follows :— [1]

Metal.

Bronze. Gorgoneion (see below, p. 266 and Pl. XXI). Lion-*protome* (see below, p. 268 and Pl. XXII). These were found in the western half of the enclosure, the former close to the north wall, the latter close to the south. The following also came from this half of the building :—Geometric bird; plain bracelet; disc with concentric circles, and an iron strip at the back [2]; small bell (broken); and miscellaneous fragments, including one with a *repoussé* rosette, and several thin strips, some with holes pierced, others with rows of *repoussé* bosses. From the eastern half came :—statuette of Nike (Fig. 5, 4); do. of calf; inscribed mirror (Fig. 6); do. bell (Fig. 5, 2); plaque with inscription (Fig. 5, 1); two small female *protomai;* various fragments with guilloche pattern, some probably from shield-rims; fragment of fluted bowl; handle and foot of casket; a few Geometric and Orientalising pins (cf. Fig. 5, 9); numerous nails, and miscellaneous fragments. From immediately outside the enclosure the chief find was a bronze shield, with guilloche rim, crushed and broken into countless crumbling fragments, lying at the foot of the middle *poros* block, as if it had fallen from the column, or from the architrave above it (Fig. 5, 13). The other finds here included :—head of Orientalising pin; pendant (?) in form of pomegranate (Fig. 5, 10); sceptre-head (*ibid.*, 12). Other outlying finds, from the west :—small bronze mask; archaic *protome* from handle of vessel (*ibid.*, 3); plain ring; folded strip with mid-rib.

Iron. In addition to the weapons and spits mentioned above as found at the lowest level in the eastern portion of the enclosure, and omitting many miscellaneous fragments found all over the site at practically all Hellenic levels, we obtained three spear-heads (socketed); three small flat do.; one javelin-

[1] It is not proposed to publish here any general account of finds from outside the portico.

[2] Possibly a cymbal. Cf. a similar object (without the iron), *Argive Heraeum*, ii. Pl. CI, No. 1714.

head, with tang; one blade; one small axe-head; one double do.; one hammer-head; fragment of large tube or pipe; numerous nails and spikes.

Lead. Fifty-three lead wreaths of various types; one horse (found on surface); one ἁλτήρ (?); one wedge.

Silver. One rosette, with gold leaf on petals (Fig. 5, 14).

Ivory and Bone.

Head of gryphon (p. 275 and Fig. 7, 1, 2), and small hand, in ivory; and the following bone objects:—decorated strips, two—one with small incised circles above; two small wedge-shaped pieces; small disc ('draughtsman'), and half another; bone with a notch at each side.

Clay.

Pottery. In addition to a little Geometric and a few pieces of small decorated Laconian II. skyphoi, mostly from the black stripe (layer No. 3), the following (mostly from the lower black deposit) may be mentioned:—B. f.: small piece of a Panathenaic amphora; fragments of at least three vases with late-looking ivy-leaf and flower patterns; large palmette in black and purple, apparently Attic. R. f.: four fragments, of which far the finest is a piece from the shoulder of an amphora, with tongue pattern above, and the head, to l., of a long-haired youth in a fur cap (Fig. 8). This came from the eastern half of the enclosure, in the lower black layer. It seems to be of Attic origin, and contemporary with, if not indeed from the workshop of, the painter Polygnotos.[1] I have not traced elsewhere a similar fur cap; this suggests a Thracian subject (Orpheus or a Dionysiac scene?).

The other b. f. and r. f. pieces from this area, and those found elsewhere on the Acropolis, await publication until the excavation is concluded, and all possible joins and groupings have been made.

The pottery most plentifully represented in the portico was plain black-glazed, of good quality, and the commonest shape was the two-handled cup already well known from its frequent occurrence at the Orthia Sanctuary. About fifty small votive vases of the 'Angelona' type were found within the building, and a few more at various levels outside it.

The few pieces of relief-ware, including 'Megarian,' and the medallion-fragments are discussed below by Miss Hobling (pp. 277 ff.). The coarse Roman ware found near the surface was fairly plentiful, and a few amphorae and horizontally-ribbed jars with small handles below a flat lip could be more or less reconstructed. They seemed to shew no exceptional features, and need no further discussion.

Terracottas. These were mostly in poor preservation, and, including animal figures, numbered about thirty pieces. They await fuller study, in

[1] Professor Buschor, however, inclines to favour a South Italian origin for it. For Polygnotos see Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler* (1925), pp. 391 ff.

conjunction with those from other parts of the Acropolis deposit. From outside the enclosure, on the west, came a headless female figure, of Geometric style, with trellis-pattern in black on the drapery and one arm extended horizontally (the other is lost); also two striped horses of the same period, and a grotesque gryphon, like a coarse version of the ivory head already mentioned (Fig. 7, 3). Only one of the female figurines was recognisably an Athena. Mention must also be made of about eighty votive clay bells, some painted with horizontal stripes.

No inscriptions, except those on the bronze objects referred to above, came to light in the enclosure, but two dedications, one bearing merely the name Τεῖhις on a small stele of marble, in retrograde lettering, and the other a short dedication to Athena, dating from the fourth century, came out of late walls adjacent to the portico (see above, § 3, Nos. 25 and 26).

The few miscellaneous fragments of sculpture, and of unimportant architectural marbles which shed no light on the construction of the portico, need not be mentioned here.

The Remainder of the Site.

Opposite to, and extending westwards nearly four metres beyond the south wall of the Chalkioikos-precinct, an area which measured *ca.* 15 × 11 metres was cleared down to undisturbed clay. This was commenced in 1924, with the two trenches dug by Miss Lamb; and in 1925 we deepened and extended them southwards. We then removed the strip lying between them, and finally took another broad strip from the outer edge on each side, and made a small cutting into the face of the deposit south of the area cleared, to investigate more fully the mysterious channels which had come to light in that direction. We thus reserved for our third campaign a belt of earth between this area and the portico, varying between five and eight metres in width, and as much as possible as could be dug of the region between our 1925 cutting and the back wall of the *cavea*. Part of the former belt had been tested by Mr. Dickins in his trial trench in 1907 (see above, p. 240).

In this area no building came to light, and the only piece of walling is a short stretch, barely ·30 m. wide and ·50 m. high, associated with hard-rammed gravel, which seemed to have served merely as the kerb to a path. It runs *ca.* 1·5 m. in front of, and its lowest course was about

·40 m. below the foundation-level of, the southern Chalkioikos-wall, to which it is parallel. The narrow channel intersecting it would thus have been a gutter to carry rain-water down the slope. It was not recognisable east or west of the portion shewn in black on the plan (Pl. XVII).

The stratification in this area may be treated as a whole, for there were no very noteworthy variations in the levels observed. The average slope from north to south was about one in four, and a much gentler slope from west to east seemed pretty constant. The levels distinguished were as follows :—

(1) Surface earth, with a few miscellaneous Roman coins (fourth century predominantly), and some Byzantine (tenth to twelfth centuries). No remains of Roman or Byzantine house-walls were found. (2) Red clay, with occasional bands of yellow clay, increasing in thickness towards the south, until, at ten metres south of the Chalkioikos-wall, it was as much as 2·70 m. deep. This clay was more productive of finds near its western edge, and they seemed mostly to come from its upper levels. (3 *a*) A dark stripe, starting close up towards the Chalkioikos-wall, rising at first, in a hump, to a highest point at about 1·50 to 2·50 m. south of the wall, and then falling southwards more steeply in places than the normal slope of 1 : 4. This varied in depth from *ca.* ·50 m. at the highest point, to ·20 m. or less, and for the most part rested on a thin strip of red clay slightly deeper in tone than layer No. 2, and seldom more than ·10 m. in thickness. Towards the west edge of the excavated area, this red band (3 *b*) was scarcely visible, and the upper dark stripe practically coalesces with the lower dark deposit (3 *c*). The latter, which was the most productive stratum in finds, extended all over the area cleared to an average depth of ·50 m. Below it, though sometimes nearer the top of the slope, intermingled with it, was a layer of cobbles (4), of which the original purpose is obscure. Their general level suggests that they are contemporary and homogeneous with the cobbles inside the portico, and their presence over so large an area cannot be accidental. At certain points, notably just south of the kerb mentioned above, and towards the western edge of our cutting, they seemed very firmly set, and in no way resembled fallen material. It was precisely at these spots that they lay high up in the black deposit. Where, on the other hand, they lay deeper in it, or even denoted a stratum definitely below it, they seemed more loosely laid. It was among, and below, these cobbles at a point about eight metres south of the S.-W. angle of the Chalkioikos-precinct that our marble statue of a warrior was found, on May 5th, 1925, at a depth of rather over two metres below ground-level. Below the layer of cobbles (or where they are high up in the dark deposit, below the latter), comes (5) undisturbed clay, usually in immediate contrast to the dark layer above.

Whilst this was the general disposition of the strata, we noted the following exceptional features :—

(*a*) At about nine metres south of the Chalkioikos-wall, at the point shewn on the plan (Pl. XVII), the black deposit deepened suddenly, almost as if it had poured down into a pit dug previously, and here reached a maximum depth of 1·20 m.; the extent of this sinking had not been ascertained by the end of 1925. (*b*) Two clearly-marked channels, and one less distinct, were identified; the first was *ca.* ·70 m. wide, and *ca.* ·25 to ·30 m. deep, with slightly splayed edges, and was cut into the upper surface of the black deposit. It was traced practically from the outer S.-W. corner of the Chalkioikos-wall, running in a straight line to the south-east, and was clearly visible against the vertical face of the clay bank which marked our southward limit at the end of the second campaign. The second channel was no less clearly marked, and proved to be nearly straight-sided, and lined at most points with cobbles; its dimensions were not far from those of the upper channel, and it was sunk into the virgin clay, below the dark layer (3 *c*). This was most conspicuous to the south-west of the ' pit ' above mentioned, where its depth increased to fully ·60 m., and its course lay parallel, but a little to the east of, the upper channel. There were indications of a similar third channel, flowing S.S.-W. to join it, slightly to the north of the ' pit.'

It was soon observed that, regular though this stratification was, it did not represent a gradual accumulation of deposit. Miss Lamb had recorded from the evidence of her trial trenches dug in 1924 that, whilst in the dark stripe (3 *a*) there seemed a distinctly larger proportion of Geometric and Laconian sherds, and that certain of the best Archaic bronzes were also associated with it, in general all classes of pottery appeared equally distributed among the various productive levels, and she concluded that all strata, including the cobbles, were laid down at a late (Roman ?) date.[1] The fuller exploration of the site in 1925 confirmed this conclusion to a striking degree. The upper black stripe (3 *a*) certainly continued to yield a higher proportion than any other section of the deposit, of objects dating from the sixth century or earlier, but, on the other hand, the very bottom levels of the lower black deposit (3 *c*), in the ' pit ' and the lower drain, yielded more late pottery, proportionately. Unmistakable fragments of Roman *mortaria*, with gritted surface, were found deep in the ' pit,' together with many fragments of Hellenistic platters and relief-kraters, and occasional Laconian and Geometric sherds. This cannot indicate an accidental percolation, for

[1] Summarised from her entry in the log-book.

the mass of clay filling over the 'pit' was fully 2·50 metres thick, and itself contained a few scattered sherds ranging from the sixth century or even earlier, down to the beginning of Imperial times. Such evidence need not be multiplied, for only one conclusion is possible, as indicated above, namely, that the great bulk of this deposit must be a filling imported from elsewhere, for the date of which the '*terminus post quem*' is supplied by the Roman *mortaria*.

There was only one occasion when it can have been necessary to make a radical alteration in the level of the Acropolis, such as is represented by this vast mass of imported material, namely, when the *cavea* of the theatre was extended up on to it. Attention has been directed already (p. 130 f.) to the fact that the concrete foundation for the back wall of the *cavea* is sunk down nearly two metres into the layer of red and yellow clay. The mixed nature of the dark deposit beneath, with Roman pottery low down in it, forces us to conclude that it was laid down on the same occasion as the clay above it; and in view of our conclusions from other evidence for the date of the theatre in its largest form, we must date all the filling to the Augustan period. It will be necessary to extend our digging southward, into the *cavea* itself, to reveal more fully the original ground-level of the Acropolis here, before the theatre was built, but this can hardly affect our chronological conclusions.

In considering whence this filling may have come, we must take into account the large number of objects specifically dedicated to Athena, and the absence hitherto of any object inscribed with the name of any other deity, and must conclude that it was brought from close at hand. When we remember that outside the west wall of the Chalkioikos-Sanctuary there seemed an almost total absence of deposit,[1] it seems not unlikely that some of our filling may have been fetched thence. We may nevertheless suggest that the material comprising part at least of that along the northern edge of the dark stripe (3 *a*), which had a much smaller admixture of late finds in it, had accumulated *in situ*, and was not disturbed. Perhaps it had been thrown up on the occasion of some rebuilding of the south wall of the Chalkioikos, or when some of the deposit accumulated within it was cleared out, prior to the building of the theatre.

A. M. WOODWARD,
M. B. HOBLING.

[1] As noted by Mr. Dickins in 1907.

2.—THE FINDS.

Sculpture.

The outstanding feature of the excavations of 1925 was the discovery, in the circumstances above described, of substantial portions of a marble statue, of more than life size, representing a helmeted warrior.[1] These comprise (1) the head and armless torso down to the waist; (2) two portions of the marble crest, which join each other, and fit on to the helmet; (3) the left leg, from knee to ankle; (4) part of the right foot, lacking heel and toes (material, scale, and style as far as can be seen in its damaged condition, make the attribution practically certain); (5) a small piece from the rim of the marble shield, which we must restore the figure as holding.

1. *Dimensions :*

Height to top of helmet without crest	·76 m.
Circumference of neck, below hair	·50 ,,
Height from top of helmet to point of beard	·27 ,,
,, ,, tip of nose to point of beard	·096 ,,
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, to point of nasal	·06 ,,
Length of eye-sockets	·041 ,,
Max. height of eye-sockets	·02 ,,
Length of mouth	·06 ,,
Height of upper lip	*ca.* ·018 ,,

There are two cuttings for the crest on the top of the helmet, of which that nearer the front is ·085 m. long, the other ·10 m.; a plain surface lies between them, ·026 m. long; the cuttings are nearly straight-sided, but vary in width between ·028 and ·035 m. A part of the tenon of the crest was found broken off short in the rearward cutting, and has since been rejoined to the fragment to which it belongs.

Damage : both arms are missing, being broken away at the shoulders, and in addition the surface has been flaked off from the back of the right shoulder and the chest close to the arm-pit. The tip of the nose is chipped away, giving us an erroneous impression of a pronouncedly

[1] On publishing this important find I wish to record my indebtedness for many helpful suggestions received from friends and colleagues in Athens and elsewhere. It has been impossible to analyse and acknowledge this help in detail, and I fear that in spite of it the task has been inadequately performed. For any errors in reasoning or conclusions the responsibility is mine alone.

aquiline nose. Both upper and lower right eyelid are chipped, and the lower left eyelid is also slightly damaged; the filling from the sockets is lost. There are other but quite trifling surface-injuries; luckily the pick only struck the point of fracture of the left shoulder.

As the photographs shew (Pls. XVIII–XX), the subject is a bearded man, of middle age, with a short beard and shaven upper lip. He wears a close-fitting helmet of the Attic type, with a short nasal, large cheek-pieces in the form of rams' heads,[1] and a slightly turned-up rim to protect the back of the neck, beneath which projects a row of small spiral, stylised curls, twenty-three in number. Two sharply-incised lines are cut in the brow-piece, following roughly the line of the eyebrows, and nearly meeting in the middle, where there is a slight raised vertical ridge. Remains of painted palmette-ornaments are visible on the sides of the crown of the helmet, just above the position of the ears, but the full design is not clear.[2]

The eyes have prominent lids, and the background of the sockets is slightly convex (Pls. XIX, XX). Traces remain of the method employed in cutting them, as there are nine tiny drill-holes along the upper edge of the left socket, and three rather shallower, along the lower edge. The absence from the right socket of similar holes would suggest that it was cut after the other, the sculptor having by then ascertained that he had drilled needlessly deep for the left eye. Another peculiarity of the eyes, emphasised by the slight damage to the lids, is the way in which the line of the lower lids is drawn downwards appreciably deeper close to the outer angles, and that of the upper lids rises as it approaches the inner angles. The stylistic importance of this feature is referred to below (p. 262).

[1] The cheek-pieces are shewn as rigid, not hinged. This type of ornamented *παραγναθίς* with rams' heads is not rare. Among early works of art, cf. a figure (with spear held horizontally) on the N. frieze of the Knidian Treasury (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv. Pl. XIV); the helmet of Achilles on the vase by Amasis (Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, iii. Fig. 218); that on the kylix by Pamphaios (*ibid.*, Fig. 345). For a later example, with the cheek-pieces folded back on to the frontal, cf. the Athena Giustiniani, dating from the late fifth century, and known in many replicas (Rome, Terme, 112 = Helbig[3], 1362; Vatican, Br. Nuovo, Amelung, 114; Cassel, No. 12 in Fräulein M. Bieber's Catalogue, and full bibliography, *ad loc.*, etc.).

[2] The remains visible have been outlined on the cast, and shew well in Pl. XX. Parallels for such decoration on helmets can be found in plenty on vases, both Orientalising and Attic; *e.g.* Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, Figs. 267, 292, 314, 315, 345; and cf. the Klazomenai sarcophagus, *ibid.*, Fig. 140.

The nose is broad and fleshy, with strongly-marked lines running from the top of the nostrils towards the outer corners of the mouth. The mouth is closed, and the lips, which are thick and full, run upwards towards their extremities. The short beard is represented by close-set striations, which are mostly very straight and parallel; but where it appears below the edges of the cheek-pieces, the striations are oblique and wider spaced.

The neck is very massive for the size of the head, and remarkably short.

The sinews of the throat are carefully rendered, with shallow-cut modelling which shews much skill in giving the effect of light and shade. The head is turned considerably to the left, and thrust forward, following with restraint the forward movement of the body.

The collar-bone is shewn prominently, the massive chest is inflated, and the abdominal muscles emphasised (Pl. XVIII). The ribs, on the other hand, are treated superficially, where they appear at the sides, by a series of shallow parallel grooves, which lack conviction when contrasted with the vigorous treatment of the chest-muscles.

The powerful back, with a pronounced spinal groove, is rendered with as much care, and at least as much skill, as the chest, the left shoulder-blade in particular conveying most vividly the muscular development beneath the skin. A strongly-marked, and indeed exaggerated, line marks the edge of the *latissimus dorsi* muscle running downwards and backwards from the left arm-pit. This emphasis, coupled with the scanty remains visible of the upper muscles of the shoulders in front, leaves no doubt that both arms were extended, and to some extent raised. The pose would have suggested that the warrior held a shield on his left arm, even if we had not found a piece (No. 5) of the shield itself; and the ridge of muscle on the right shoulder indicates that the arm was raised to strike, presumably with a spear held at the level of the head. The closest resemblance in pose is that afforded by the beardless warrior from the west pediment at Aegina.[1]

2. *The crest.* Fig. 3*b* shews the two portions, found prior to the discovery of the torso, joined together. Its height is ·43 m.; its thickness varies between ·028 and ·031 m.; the maximum projection from the helmet was *ca.* ·12 m. A small piece is lost from the tail, and the cast

[1] Furtwängler, *Aegina*, ii. Pl. 96, No. 22 (= Glypt. 76).

is completed conjecturally with a flat end below, instead of an elongated, and gradually rounded, finish as on the Aeginetan crests where preserved.[1] At the lower point of the crest, as restored, a mark on the back, visible on Pl. XVIII, may possibly be due to, or at least accentuated by, dripping

(*a*) (*b*, *c*) (*d*)

FIG. 3.—*a*, *d*, LEFT LEG; *b*, CREST; *c*, FRAGMENT OF RIGHT FOOT. (Scale 1 : 6.)

of rain-water from the crest at this point.[2] The front profile of the crest is, of course, also conjectural, but is in close agreement with many more or less contemporary examples on vases and bronze statuettes. At the

[1] Cf. *op. cit.*, Pl. 101, No. 148 (= Glypt. 152).

[2] It does not look as if this mark was originally due to rain-drops alone; it resembles a deep irregular scratch.

same time symmetry of curve to harmonise with the curves both of the rearward portion and of the top of the helmet itself had to be considered.

3. *The left leg* (Fig. 3*a*, *d*). Ht. ·42; max. circumference ·505 m. This is broken off squarely below the knee-cap, and above the ankle. The greave is preserved complete. The chief features are well seen in the illustration, namely, the pronounced curve of the shin-bone, the large spiral ornament in relief, running up on to the calf, and the fine bearded snake's head ornamenting it near the top.[1] The calf-muscle

(*a*) (*b*)

FIG. 4.—*a*, SHIELD-FRAGMENT; *b*, RIGHT FOOT. (Scale 1 : 3⅓.)

is well-developed, but not emphasised in the rendering, where it is visible at the back of the greave. As far as it is shown, it exhibits no tension inconsistent with the foot being planted firmly on the ground to take the weight of an advancing figure.

4. *Right foot* (Figs. 3*c*, 4*b*). L. ·165; br. ·08; ht. ·096 m. The toes are missing, the back of the heel also is broken away, and the fracture above runs across the top of the instep, just above the outer ankle-joint. The under surface is also damaged, leaving it doubtful whether the foot rested flat on the ground or not.

[1] Cf. the bearded snakes on the bronze greaves, *Olympia, Bronzen*, Nos. 990, 991 and Pl. LXI.

5. *Fragment* from rim of *shield* (Fig. 4*a*). L. ·17; br. ·07; do. of rim ·053 m.; the thickness varies between ·016 and ·005 m.

The marble is white, and coarse-grained, and we need not hesitate to accept it as Parian. The head and torso are stained to a mellow red tint by the clay beneath which they have lain so long, and are somewhat disfigured by incrustation. There is very little trace of surface-corrosion due to weathering. The left leg is of a much purer white colour, but also slightly incrusted, although not so far as to conceal the modelling.

Owing to the discoloration of the former, illustrations from the cast, by affording uniformity of tone, shew far more clearly the details of the muscular treatment.[1]

Style, Date and Subject.

The circumstances of the discovery, as described above, are of paramount importance in any attempt to identify our warrior. The figure was found, as we have seen, lying face upwards amid a stratum of cobbles on the debris-strewn slope a few metres in front of the S.-W. angle of the precinct of Athena Chalkioikos; the crest-fragments close at hand, the shield-piece rather to the east, and the left leg some three metres further down the slope. There was no trace of any base from which it could have fallen, nor of any building (other than the Chalkioikos-Sanctuary) to which it could have belonged. At the same time, the presence of several fragments of the same statue within a small area strongly suggests that its original home was not far away from the finding-place of the main portion. Failing the subsequent discovery—which seems unlikely—of evidence in any form to the contrary, we must assume that our statue stood in, or close to, the Chalkioikos-precinct.

We have also seen that the statue was found below the layer of clay filling thrown in at the time that the *cavea* of the theatre was built, in its final form, at a date which can scarcely be later than the first quarter of the first century of our era. It is thus out of the question that it could have been seen by Pausanias in the Antonine period, and consequently we gain no direct help from this author for the purposes of its identification.

[1] These five pieces are now in the National Museum at Athens. Pending the possible discovery of further fragments it has not seemed advisable to set up the torso on a permanent base.

Without anticipating here the conclusions to be drawn on stylistic grounds, for subject and date, we may proceed somewhat further towards an identification by observing that there is no sign that the figure was less carefully worked on one side than the other, or that the back is inferior in finish to the front.[1] It must, one feels, have been made to be seen close at hand, and from all sides. Moreover, there is nothing at all suggesting that it was intended to be seen from below only. These considerations would, in any case, suffice to convince us that it was not a pedimental sculpture; and they receive additional weight when we realise that there was no temple on the Spartan Acropolis large enough to have contained pedimental figures of the scale of our Warrior.[2] The question whether it stood by itself or formed one of a group is not easy to decide. Certainly up to the present no fragments have been found, which by their scale could indicate a companion-figure, but this negative evidence must not be unduly stressed, especially as the excavation of the area in which other fragments may be found is not yet complete. We must not in fact assume that the warrior had no antagonist; but, on the other hand, we must not be driven to adopt the opposite conclusion.

Here then we have a marble statue of a warrior, rather more than life-sized, of fine style and in vigorous movement, erected on the Acropolis of Sparta in circumstances to which we have no clue from external evidence. On the internal evidence of style, we may suggest an approximate date, for, subject to the warning that comparisons with pedimental sculptures must not be pressed too closely for works which do not belong to that class, our statue seems definitely to mark an advance on any of the warrior-figures from the Aegina pediments. Not only is there more skill in the portrayal of individuality, in giving animation to the features, but the rendering of the bodily forms is incomparably finer. The dry, hard and to some extent formal and lifeless handling of the muscles—indeed of the anatomy in general—of even the best of the Aeginetan figures contrasts strongly with the fuller treatment of our statue, which succeeds in giving life and suppleness to the play of muscles and sinews beneath the skin. This difference is not merely that of one School from another, it is a sure sign of greater skill in the handling of

[1] Certain small differences are to be seen in the treatment of the two cheek-pieces.

[2] On the analogy of Aegina, and allowing for the fact that our statue is larger than the Aeginetan pediment-sculptures, we should require a temple measuring *ca.* 34 × 17 metres. No such temple ever stood on the Spartan Acropolis.

the material. In considering a '*terminus ante quem*,' we must admit that the Olympia Pediments mark a stage which our Warrior has not reached. In the absence of the lower part of the body, and the legs above the knee, we cannot feel full confidence as to the exact position and balance of the figure, but it seems that the artist was still under the influence of the traditional pose for a fighting-man, exemplified by the beardless Aegina warrior already mentioned. He must be earlier than, or at least he cannot have been influenced by, the School that produced the Diskobolos of Myron, which opens up a new vista in the rendering of the body in action. The sculptor to whom we owe the Spartan figure has brought a familiar type to a higher degree of perfection than hitherto known, by his skill in the rendering of bodily forms, coupled with his realisation of individual character in the rendering of the features; but he is not a great innovator.

We find in fact traces, not to say proofs, of conservatism which forbid us to date the work long after the Aeginetan groups. The little row of curls projecting from below the helmet at the back reminds us most of the head of Harmodios at Naples,[1] though such curls are far from rare on the foreheads of figures, both in marble and bronze, which cannot be far distant in date from ours.[2] The wide mouth, with its broad lips and upward inclination towards the corners, is another link with the earlier traditions which we cannot afford to overlook. To date our statue within these limits, *i.e.*, soon after the Aegina Pediments, and definitely earlier than the Olympia Temple-Sculptures, brings it to the period 480–460, during which it is scarcely open to doubt that it must have been made. We need not even raise the question as to its being a later copy of a work of that date; the most cursory glance at a photograph, for those unable to examine the original, suffices to remove all doubt on this point.

If we seek for closer affinities, within the narrow limits suggested, we should perhaps limit our choice of comparative material too closely. The resemblance to the curls on the head of Harmodios is about the only feature in common with this group. The bearded head of his companion, as restored on the Dresden cast,[3] has nothing at all suggestive of our

[1] Cf. Collignon, *S.G.* i. Fig. 190.

[2] Cf. the heads mentioned below, p. 261 f.

[3] Cf. Joubin, *Sculpture Grecque entre les Guerres Médiques et l'Époque de Périclès*, Figs. 1 and 22. For a more recent alternative suggestion by Br. Schröder, who would place

head; and, making allowance for the Naples group being a late copy, the treatment of the bodily forms is in marked contrast. Nor again can we find any analogy with the Delphi charioteer. This is hardly surprising, seeing the difference in subject and its presentation. It is with less clearly dated figures that our comparisons must be sought, and as we shall see, not sought in vain.

It is hard to resist the conviction that our statue has a great deal about it to suggest that its artist was by training familiar with sculpture in bronze. The hollow eye-sockets by themselves are not a proof, but coupled with the striated treatment of the beard, and to a less extent with the full lips, the curls on the nape, and the care devoted to the treatment of the helmet, and of the ornament of the greave, all seem to have a cumulative effect in forcing us towards this conclusion.

Let us compare the beard and lips, for instance, with those of the bronze Poseidon from the Gulf of Corinth (Athens, Nat. Mus., 11761),[1] or with the somewhat earlier bronze head from the Athenian Acropolis (*ibid.*, 6446 = Collignon, *S.G.* i., Fig. 151), or with the still earlier Zeus head from Olympia (*ibid.*, 6440)[2] ascribed to Peloponnesian origin; and in each case a certain degree of resemblance can be felt. The Acropolis head, which has the beard treated as a solid mass on which are engraved a number of fine lines to indicate the separate hairs, must belong to a school definitely distinct from those represented by either of the others, where the striations are more clearly emphasised, and where the beard, though more massive, does not conceal the shape of the jaw beneath. None of these examples, and indeed no other contemporary work known to me, can give quite the same impression as the Sparta figure conveys, as it alone has the upper lip shaven. This at once gives more character to the face, by giving the upper lip equal prominence with the lower, and by giving full effect to the strongly marked lines from the nostrils towards the ends of the mouth.

Nevertheless, it is to a marble head that we must turn to find a

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on the Naples body of Aristogeiton the bearded head of a Herm from the Townley collection (*B.M. Sculpture*, iii. 1609), cf. *Jahrb.* xxviii. (1913), pp. 26–34, and esp. Figs. 7, 8 (cf. also Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, i. p. 345 f. and Fig. 99). This is no nearer to the Spartan head in style.

[1] Cf. Joubin, *op. cit.*, Figs. 23, 24, 25.

[2] *Olympia, Bronzen*, No. 1, and Pl. I. 1; Perrot-Chipiez, viii. p. 463 f., and Figs. 235, 236.

closer similarity of treatment than any of these bronzes afford. It is a work which seems also to come from the chisel of a sculptor no less familiar with work in bronze than in marble, as it shews some of the same characteristics which we have observed in our Warrior. I mean the marble head from Olympia (Vol. iii. Pl. VI.; cf. *Aegina*, i. pp. 347 ff., and Figs. 278A, 279A), claimed by Furtwängler as belonging to the dedication by Phormis, though Hyde returns to Treu's view that it represents an Hoplitodromos.[1]

It seems quite incredible that it can date as early as Hyde would place it,[2] whether or no we follow him in giving it to the 'Attic School,' and Furtwängler's conclusion as to its date carries much more conviction 'that it can very well belong to the second decade of the fifth century . . . and be perhaps from the hand of an Attic master.' That it is in marked contrast to the Aeginetan works, in the fleshy treatment of the face and the full lips, as many writers have pointed out, is obvious. In spite of its having a moustache, and wearing a helmet which exposes much more of the face, in spite, moreover, of the different treatment of the beard, this head affords us striking points of similarity with our Spartan head.

The fleshy modelling of the cheeks, emphasised by the downward lines from the nostrils, the broad nose, the full lips, are common to the two heads. The curls on the neck of the Spartan head, though not present on that from Olympia, appear there on the forehead, in very similar treatment, but the greatest resemblance seems to lie in the handling of the eyes.

Here alone, among more or less contemporary sculptures, have we something closely akin to the feature pointed out above, namely, the quick upward curve of the upper eyelid as it leaves the inner angle, and the drop in the line of the lower lid near its outer angle. This feature, which gives added alertness to the expression, does not nevertheless result in the two heads having an identical expression about the eyes, for those of the Olympia head are in any case shorter, and higher in proportion than on that from Sparta; it is not, perhaps, prejudice only which leads me to claim that the latter displays greater strength of character, and this not merely as a result of greater technical skill. Comparing the two

[1] *Olympic Victor Monuments*, p. 162 f.

[2] He regards it as portraying Phrikias of Pelinna, victor as ὁπλιτοδρόμος in 508 and 504 B.C.

heads one is tempted to attribute them with some confidence to the same School, and not improbably to the same sculptor, and to postulate that the 'Phormis' head is a somewhat earlier work, and represents a less interesting subject. It is of no small importance that both are of Parian marble.

There is good ground then, both in style and material, for grouping these two heads closely together, and the new example need not induce us to withdraw the provisional attribution of the other to an Attic master. If the Olympia head shews an advance on the Herakles-heads from the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi,[1] the bodily forms of the Spartan torso seem to mark a still greater advance, along the same lines, on the bodies on the same metopes. That the unknown Attic sculptor, who produced these two heads, was influenced by the traditions of other Schools is not unlikely, but material proof is lacking.[2] Our conclusion for the present must be that the Sparta figure is the work of probably an Attic sculptor, whose School certainly produced also the 'Phormis' head from Olympia, and that its date is not before 480, and perhaps before rather than after 470 B.C.

In the absence of any direct help from literary sources, one can but offer suggestions for the identification of the subject on internal evidence. The work does not, and could not possibly, represent a deity. We may go further, and claim with confidence that the shaven upper lip, in the first place, points strongly to a Spartan as the subject. I know of no bearded figure in sculpture of this period with the upper lip clean-shaven, and the Spartan injunction *μὴ τρέφειν μύστακα* must have been here in the sculptor's mind.[3] But what Spartan would have been likely to be portrayed in fighting attitude, on the Acropolis, between *ca.* 480 and 470 B.C.? Our choice seems limited to Leonidas and Pausanias, and between them it is not easy to come to a decision. We know from Pausanias the Traveller that beside the altar of Athena Chalkioikos stood two *bronze* statues to his namesake, the Victor of Plataea (iii. 17, 7 and 9), erected by the Spartans *ἐκτελοῦντες πρόσταγμα ἐκ Δελφῶν*; we know, moreover, from Thucydides (i. 134) that by order of the Oracle (on the

[1] *I.e.* on those of Herakles and Kyknos, *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv. Pl. 42; and H. and the stag, *ibid.*, Pl. 41.

[2] It is easier to suggest than to define, or prove, some 'Peloponnesian' influence.

[3] Plut. ii. 550 D; cf. Müller, *Dorians* (E. T.), iii. 7, § 7; Dawkins, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 325 (where the Greek is quoted as *κείρεσθαι τὸν μύστακα*, etc.).

same occasion?) the body of Pausanias was transferred from the vicinity of the Kaiadas, where it was first interred, and buried on the spot where he died. Thus it seems that at the time of the Traveller's visit to Sparta these two bronze statues were still standing. It is on this account difficult to interpret our marble statue as representing Pausanias. Even if the Traveller is wrong in describing the two statues as of bronze, our Warrior was not standing for him to see, having been buried not less than 150 years before. If a marble statue of Pausanias originally accompanied the two bronze ones, why should it have been overthrown while they survived? This is not impossible, but surely far from likely, and to such an hypothesis we need only turn if the alternative prove even more improbable. Can it then more plausibly be connected with Leonidas? I hope to show that it can.

Leonidas fell and was buried at Thermopylae, and his bones were brought to Sparta forty years afterwards, if Pausanias' version (iii. 14, 1) is correct. But as he adds that they were brought by Pausanias, who was, of course, no longer alive, it was proposed by K. O. Müller to read *τέσσαρσι* for *τεσσαράκοντα*.[1] The passage is a still unsolved *crux*, but that the bones were, in fact, brought seems clear, for the Traveller speaks of the *μνῆμα* of Leonidas as beside that of Pausanias. (Contrast the *τάφος κενός* of Brasidas, *ibid.*) We must note that he describes them as *τοῦ θεάτρου ἀπαντικρύ*, which is often interpreted as meaning 'facing,' *i.e.*, south of, 'the theatre.'[2] But it is justly pointed out by Hitzig-Bluemner (i. p. 783) that, since the tombs of Leonidas and Pausanias are grouped together, and since (as we have seen) Thucydides is our authority for the tomb of Pausanias being on the Acropolis, where he fell, Pausanias the Traveller must have seen their tombs there, and not behind the stage. *Ἀπαντικρύ* must, therefore, mean behind the *cavea*, facing the stage, which is a fairly exact description of the position of the Chalkioikos-precinct. It is certainly curious that he only alludes to the two statues of the victor of Plataea in ch. xvii. among the objects on the Acropolis, without connecting them with the tomb mentioned in ch. xiv., but the facts seem stronger than any argument to be drawn from his lack of a cross-reference.

[1] Cf. the other attempts at solving the difficulty, summarised by Hitzig-Bluemner, *Pausanias*, i. p. 784.

[2] So Dickins, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 405.

We can scarcely doubt, accordingly, that Leonidas was finally buried near Pausanias, on the Acropolis. If his bones were not brought to Sparta for forty years, this statue cannot have been made at that date (440) for his grave, for, as we have seen, its style forbids us to date it later than *ca.* 470. If the figure forty is correct, the statue must have been erected at first as a memorial, and presumably re-erected over the grave when the bones were placed in it. If, on the other hand, the bones were brought four, and not forty, years later, we may readily accept the statue as erected on that occasion, or within a very short interval. There seems no serious ground for hesitating to believe that Sparta could have erected a statue of Leonidas on one of her most hallowed spots, when we remember that she did the same for Pausanias a few years later.[1]

If we accept this identification, how far may we accept the work as a portrait? We are nowhere told explicitly the age of Leonidas at his death or at any other date, but indications shew that he can scarcely have been less than fifty-five when he fell. We may recall how his elder brother Dorieus, in mortification at the accession of his half-brother Kleomenes, emigrated to Libya, and a few years later to Sicily, where he ultimately met his death.[2] Whatever was the exact date of Kleomenes's accession,[3] we cannot bring down the date of his birth later than 540, and it may have been a few years earlier. But according to Herodotus, the birth of Dorieus to the first wife of Anaxandridas followed immediately on that of Kleomenes to his second wife; and there was no long interval between the births of Dorieus and Leonidas.[4] We can only assume that Leonidas cannot in any event have been born later than 535, and that 540 would not be impossibly early for this event. He must, in fact, have been little, if at all, under sixty years of age when he died. Our statue certainly does not convey the idea of a man of that age, though we might take it for a man of fifty; in any case we should expect it to be idealised. The Warrior-King who met a hero's death with his face to the enemy would be represented with idealised traits, and we should be wrong in looking for signs of old age in his face or pose. Idealised

[1] For the permission granted by Lycurgus to bury the dead near Sanctuaries, cf. Plut., *Lyc.* c. 27.

[2] Herodotus, v. 41–46.

[3] Poralla, *Prosop. d. Laked.*, *s.v.* Kleomenes, suggests 'Kurz vor 516': 520 seems the earliest possible date.

[4] Herodotus, v. 41.

though the figure be, may we not claim to recognise in his features both the courage and the grim shrewdness which his conduct and sayings at Thermopylae lead us to attribute to him? The strong jaw, the unswerving glance from the eye-sockets, empty though they be, forbid us to seek here the portrait of the unstable and vain Pausanias. We named the statue 'Leonidas' almost as soon as it was discovered, and no reasons have come to light to make us change this attribution, which seems to rest on a solid basis, and indeed to be the only one possible.

The Bronzes.

1. Numerous fragments of *repoussé* plate, representing a Gorgoneion, of archaic style (Pl. XXI).[1] Ht. ·37 (as restored); br. ·33 m. The metal varies in thickness between *ca.* ·001 and ·002 m. and is much bent, and blackened by fire. As the illustration shews how much is preserved, no detailed description is required, and none but a few tiny fragments remain unplaced. The restoration of the curls on the forehead is conjectural, though the position of the larger of the two pieces with a curl is settled by the fact that it has an almost horizontal upper edge, and is folded over, deliberately, at the back, to form a border of greater solidity than if the plate were single at this point. The border elsewhere is thickened to provide rigidity, and finished with a beading. That the row of curls on the forehead can scarcely have extended further than is indicated, is proved by the identification of the fragment from the left temple, with the two wrinkles running across the forehead. It is, however, possible that the number of curling locks was less than four on each side. On the other hand, the position of the curl preserved on the smaller piece, which made a practically certain join with the larger piece, rules out the possibility of there having been only two curls in all, as, for instance, on one of the unpublished Gorgon-masks in clay from the Orthia-Sanctuary. Another detail, not absolutely free from doubt, is the restoration of three, as opposed to two, straight locks beneath the ears on each side. Certainly the fragment terminating the middle lock on the right seems to have a broken edge on the side where the presumed

[1] Found inside the portico, in the black deposit, close against the north wall. The drawing by Miss Tankard, published in the preliminary report for 1924 (Fig. 5), was made at Sparta, before all possible location of the fragments had been completed. They were brought to Athens later, and cleaned by M. E. Gilliéron, who set them in plaster, and made the drawing here published, in collaboration with the Director.

third lock—*i.e.* that nearer the chin—would have been attached, and the projecting portion at the base of the second lock cannot be reconciled with a direct continuation of the rib of beading along the jaw, which would be required if there had been only two locks on each side. The restoration of three on each side is thus probably correct.[1] The oblique incisions marking these locks are a particularly interesting feature, with which we may compare those on the hair of the limestone relief from Opuntian Lokroi, *Mon. Piot*, xx. (1912–13), Pl. III., and pp. 28 ff.

The rendering of eyes and mouth is in no way exceptional, either as regards the size of the former (they are ·061 m. long within the lids) in proportion to the width of the face, or as regards the tusks projecting from both gums at each side of the latter. The careful rendering of the teeth, and the tongue thrust out to hide the lower front teeth, are conspicuous. Unluckily most of the tongue is lost, but enough is preserved to shew its probable length. The beard is only indicated in outline. The ears are placed very high up, but are distinctly human, and quite faithfully rendered.

As no similar Gorgon in bronze of archaic date appears to exist, comparison must be made with those in other material. Furtwängler pointed out many years ago (Roscher, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* 'Gorgonen') that archaic art only knew one general type of Gorgoneion, with, admittedly, countless varieties in the treatment of details. Our example is in almost every way typical, the outline being roughly circular, with large wide eyes, vast mouth with teeth and tusks shewn in detail, the hair lying flat on the forehead, and the bulbous nose. There are no snakes, and the beard, represented merely in outline, comes to a blunted point.[2] The prominent, rounded chin, another characteristic feature, is emphasised to contrast with the beard. The wrinkled forehead, sometimes shewn with vertical furrows above the junction of the brows, is here treated with nearly horizontal lines.[3]

There seems to have been no very definite type of Gorgoneion used by Spartan artists in the archaic period. On Laconian pottery we get

[1] A parallel on a Laconian vase is quoted below.

[2] It is perhaps due merely to accident that this point turns up at right angles.

[3] Cf. the wrinkled brow of the terracotta antefix from the Athenian Acropolis, Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* 1, 5 (reproduced in Roscher, *l.c.*). For other antefixes, which offer more or less close parallels to our Gorgoneion, cf. Koch, *Dachterrakotten aus Campanien*, Pls.V. 5–7; VI. 3; XXIV. 3 *b* (a sima); XXVIII. 5 (a frieze-fragment). All these are snakeless and, on the whole, the closest analogy is Pl. V. 7.

both the variants with and without snakes, and the latter seems much more frequent on the interior of the kylikes.[1] A quite exceptional type is the marble akroterion in the Sparta Museum (*S.M.C.*, 654, and cf. p. 121), with its flame-like treatment of the hair, and thin fleshless face. We may also find a parallel for the three locks of hair falling on each side below the ears on the Gorgoneion with the snakes (Pfuhl, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 198), but there they are placed clear of the cheeks, and serve also to fill the space below the projecting snakes on either side.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that this great Gorgoneion was originally a shield-device. As such, they were in common use, on the evidence of vase-painting,[2] and the size is no objection in this case. It does not, however, seem that this example was sufficiently curved to fit the convex surface of a shield, and its weight seems excessive for the purpose. Certainly no shield-fragments came to light along with it, and its finding-place indicates that it was hung, by itself, on the north wall of the portico. As to its date, it must suffice to suggest that it cannot be later than the sixth century, and that the careful modelling of the ears forbids us to put it much before the middle of that period; it might even be as late as *ca.* 530–520 B.C.

2. Relief representing *protome* of a lion, of archaic style (Pl. XXII). Ht. ·256; br. ·13 m. The metal is slightly thicker than in the previous item. The upper jaw and muzzle, and a few pieces from the back of the neck are missing, likewise the ear, and a small piece from under the throat. The jaws were represented as wide open, with the tongue attached to the lower one. A clearly-marked 'ruff' runs round the throat. The mane is rendered in a close-set series of rounded locks, varying in size, and set in oblique rows, whereas the ruff is treated more naturalistically, in shallower relief, with more wavy locks. The lower edge of the *protome* is all preserved but for a minute fragment at the rearward corner, and enough survives from the back of the neck to give us its original outline. The eye was inset, in a deep socket, with a thin strip at the back to hold the inserted substance in place. The exact shape of the ear remains uncertain.

[1] With snakes, cf. *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 134, Fig. 10 *c*; Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, iii. Fig. 198; both on the outside of vases. Without snakes, Pfuhl, *loc. cit.* Fig. 197 (a shield-device), and on the bases of many types of vase. Note, however, the noble snake in the hair of the Gorgoneion on the base of the fragmentary plate, *B.S.A.* xv. p. 156, Fig. 19.

[2] Lead figurines confirm the popularity of this type of device at Sparta, *e.g. B.S.A.* xv. p. 138, Fig. 10, Nos. 22, 23.

We have no similar *protome* preserved elsewhere, in the same material, and comparisons for purpose of dating would have to be sought over a wide range, and due allowance made for differences of material and technique. The lion-*protomai* from Olympia are not close to ours in style, and rather nearer analogies for the treatment of the mane are exhibited by the lions on the shoulder-pieces of the great bronze corselet, and those on the lower frieze of the tripod-relief from the same site.[1] In neither instance, owing to the shallower relief, is there the same opportunity for modelling in depth. We should rather look for analogies in sculpture in the round, and comparing the mane of our *protome* with those of some of the lions in *poros*, from the pre-Persian buildings on the Acropolis, we find something of the same effort to shew the individual locks, the sculptor in stone having, however, a more responsive material, apart from the added asset of applied colour.[2] Compared to these lions ours appears, as regards the mane, more conventionally treated, though the feeling after the effect of separate locks handled in deep relief seems to justify us in dating it not far from them. We may at any rate assign it to the sixth century, and regard it as at latest roughly contemporary with the Gorgoneion.

The purpose of this *protome* is obscure. In its present form it has curled into a slightly concave shape, owing to burning, and it is hard to tell whether its original plane was flat. I am disposed to think that it was; and consequently that it was not meant for a shield-device, for which its weight would in any event have made it unsuitable. We should feel safer in regarding it as complete in itself, and perhaps apotropaic in purpose.

3. Statuette of Nike, standing on a plain square base, with wings spread and hands extended at the level of her waist (Fig. 5, 4).[3] Ht. ·083·m.; poor work, and surface corroded. The right hand seems to be damaged, and there is no attribute held in the left. Her drapery, apparently a Doric chiton, which is girt at the waist with an overfall, falls stiffly, in three straight folds in front, nearly to her feet. These are close together, and very superficially rendered. Her hair is dressed with a fringe across the forehead and lies in a coil on the top of the head

[1] For the corselet, found in the Alpheios before the German excavations, *Olympia, Bronzen*, Pl. LIX.; for the tripod, *ibid.*, Pl. XXXVII. No. 696.

[2] Especially the fragment, Wiegand, *Porosarchitektur*, p. 218, Fig. 232; cf. Dickins, *Acrop. Mus. Cat.* i. pp. 67 ff.

[3] Found in the burnt deposit in the E. half of the portico.

FIG. 5.—MISCELLANEOUS BRONZE OBJECTS FROM THE PORTICO.
(Scale 1 : 2; No. 1 is 1 : 4.)

(or is this perhaps a wreath?). Owing to the poor style it is not easy to assign a date, but standing Nikai are not rare in the art of the fifth and fourth centuries. There is something reminiscent, in both pose and drapery, as well as the shape of the head, of the fifth-century statuette of Aphrodite Ourania in the British Museum (*B.M. Bronzes*, 199). Ours may perhaps be a poor fifth-century piece, not a later adaptation of the type.

4. Moulded female *protome*, with solid filling and a backing of thin bronze plate (Fig. 5, 3).[1] Ht. ·058; br. below, ·06 m. The treatment of features and hair, especially the two side-locks shewn with the '*perlenfrisur*,' is a proof of its being an archaic work. It bears a strong resemblance to some of the early terracotta *protomai* from Sparta, notably two of those from the Menelaion, which were found in association with Laconian II. and earlier pottery (*B.S.A.* xv. p. 129, Fig. 3, Nos. 37 and 39), and one published below, p. 276, Fig. 7, 4.

The striking similarity of style, above all in the treatment of the mouth and chin, to the female figure (of unrecorded *provenance*) known as '*La Dame d'Auxerre*' must not be neglected.[2] The Cretan origin of the latter is now generally accepted,[3] but the evidence of our terracottas and now of this bronze piece justifies the suggestion that its origin may after all be Laconian, or if the Cretan attribution be insisted on, that the dominating influence in its style is that of Laconian art.

5. Mirror, complete in one piece (Fig. 6).[4] L. over all ·29; diam. of disc ·14 m. There are small spiral volutes on the edges at the junction of disc and handle, an incised palmette at the end of the latter, and a lotus-bud pattern below the junction. A straight and a zigzag line are incised across the handle near each end. The disc is not decorated, but bears remains of an incised inscription, not very easily legible owing to the corroded surface, which seems to run [Ἀθα]ναίαι ἀνέθεκε Εὐονύμα. The lettering indicates a fifth-century date, before rather than after 450.[5] Many Laconian names are known similarly compounded with

[1] Found outside the N.-W. corner of the portico; an almost exact replica was found in 1925, further west.

[2] Cf. Collignon, in *Rev. Arch.*, 1908, pp. 153 ff., and *Mon. Piot*, xx. (1912–13), pp. 1–38.

[3] Collignon, *locc. citt.*; Poulsen, *Orient und fruhgr. Kunst*, p. 163; Picard, *Sculpt. Antique*, pp. 79 f., 257, and Fig. 22.

[4] Found close to No. 3.

[5] The *epsilon*, which does not seem consistently to have the *hasta* prolonged downwards, must not be taken too strictly as indicating a still earlier date (before 500), for such irregularities of script are natural in a private dedication.

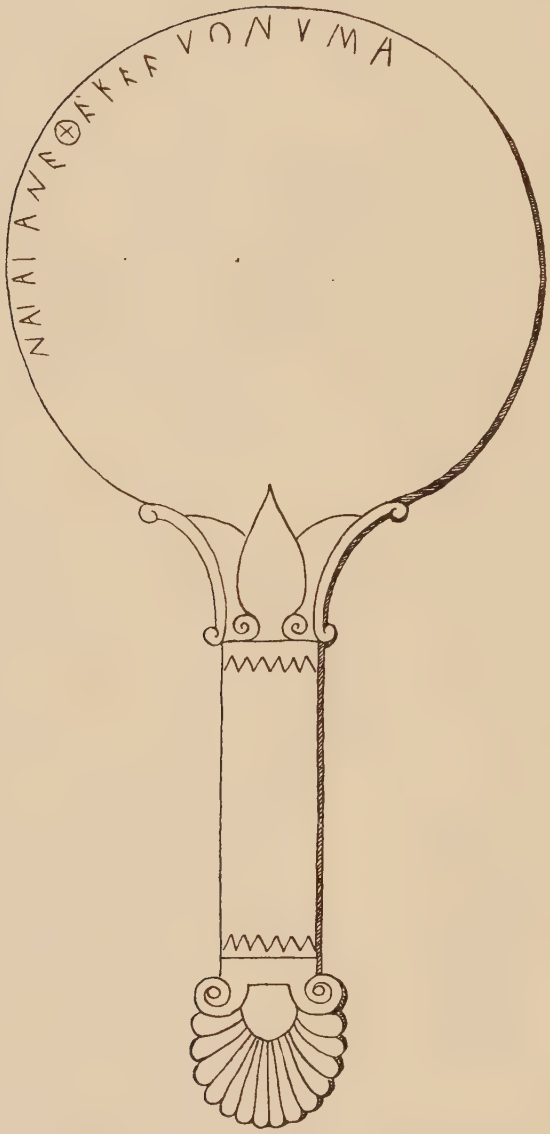

FIG. 6.—BRONZE MIRROR. (Scale 1 : 2.)

Ὄνομα (Ὄννυμα, Ἔννυμα); and one Εὐόνυμος, known as dedicating a bronze vessel to Apollo Hyperteleates, may have been a kinsman of the donor of this mirror; [1] their dates cannot be far apart, on epigraphical evidence.

6. Plaque, of rectangular shape, with the upper edge bent over backwards (Fig. 5, 1).[2] L. ·41; ht. ·08; th. ·002 m. Apparently it has been cut down on the left, but is otherwise complete. There is a round hole near the right-hand end, ·01 m. in diameter, and a row of small pin-holes at equal distances runs close to the lower edge; a few similar holes are also pierced along the central axis. Inscribed in letters ranging from ·055–·06 m. high is the word Χαλκεια. The initial X is cut through, and we cannot tell how many letters are lost from before it. This massive plaque was clearly nailed on to a background, presumably of wood, and not stone, as the smaller nails, implied by the smaller holes, would have been useless for fixing it to a hard material.

The shape indicates that it had been attached to a plinth or base, perhaps of a large votive offering, and we may plausibly suggest that the inscription contained a verb recording the dedication of certain brazen objects. Χαλκεῖα is presumably the right way of transcribing the word, and it will thus be plural of Χαλκεῖον, of which the original sense is 'a workshop or smithy for bronze objects'; but here it must bear the sense of 'bronze objects.' [3]

The lettering has little distinctive about it except the *epsilon*, which is not unlike that on the previous item; but in view of the more monumental type of the inscription we may advisedly date it earlier, perhaps *ca.* 500 B.C.

7. Bell with vertical loop-handle above, in which are two links of an iron suspension-chain. There is a plain moulding round the lower edge, and there were originally three feet, of which two are preserved; the iron clapper has also survived in place (Fig. 5, 2). Ht., without feet, ·057 m.

Votive bells in bronze have been found in considerable numbers on the site of the Chalkioikos-Sanctuary, the total, including the finds of 1907–08, reaching about forty.[4] The interest of the present example

[1] *I.G.* v. 1, 983; for other compounds, see Poralla, *op. cit.*, Nos. 265, 446, 485, 578–580, and Tod, *J.H.S.* xxxiv. (1914), p. 63; and cf. Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekte*, ii. p. 334, § 42.

[2] Found close to Nos. 3 and 5.

[3] Cf. Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* It can hardly be from the Epic form of the adjective χάλκε(ι)ος.

[4] In terracotta they were far more numerous.

lies partly in its completeness, but much more in its inscription.[1] Round the lower edge, is incised, upside-down

'Αθαναίαι ἀνέθεκ' 'Ενπεδοκλέες ἀν|έθεκε.

The last five letters come in a second line. It seems preferable to read it as above, and not as ἀνέθεκεν Πεδοκλέες . . . as we get a more likely name, and, moreover, the ν ἐφελκυστικόν would be unusual in an archaic Spartan inscription.[2] The lettering is neat and fairly regular, but we may note the reversed *sigma*, and the correction of the first sign in l. 2 from *theta* to *epsilon*. The sixteenth letter certainly seems to be N, but the space is wide enough for M; the spelling 'Ενπ— is at least as likely as the form 'Εμπ—.[3] Neither form of the name is known in Laconia.[4] In addition to Sicily, where the philosopher and his maternal grandfather (the Olympic victor of 496) bore it, we find it in Boeotia.[5] Names so compounded are collected by Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen*, p. 152 f.

Of the remaining objects illustrated (Fig. 5, 5–14), we may notice especially the piece (No. 12) with a melon-like knob above a cylindrical socket on which are two bands of tongue-pattern, separated by a moulding. This must have formed the head of a staff or sceptre. No. 5 is a fragment of plate with an unusually large braid-pattern, and No. 13, a common type of guilloche border, is from the rim of the votive shield mentioned above (p. 247). The dove (No. 11), which may be almost as early as the Geometric period, and the Orientalising pins, typical of numerous examples yielded by the site as a whole (Nos. 7–9), need no comment. The purpose of the large object in the form of a pomegranate-bud (?) (No. 10) is doubtful. It seems too massive for a pin-head, and might have been a pendant, or even a knob-handle from the lid of a *cista*. A similar object in ivory, from the Orthia site, is published in *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 98, and Fig. 30 *d*. No. 14 is the gold and silver rosette already mentioned (p. 248).

[1] For other inscribed bronze bells from the site cf. *B.S.A.* xxiv. p. 117 f.; and for another example found in 1924, see *Prelim. Report*, 1924, Fig. 7 (= *J.H.S.*, 1924, p. 259, Fig. 3).

[2] Bechtel, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 329, § 34. The uncontracted form of the nominative is most unusual.

[3] Cf. πενπάκι, *I.G.* v. 1, 222; πένπε (= πέμπε), *ibid.*, 1119, l. 7; the common use of ἐν πολέμοι on tombstones of the fifth century; and 'Ενπεδίας a Spartan on an inscription at Delphi, *B.C.H.* xxvii. (1903), p. 58, I. 6.

[4] Cf., however, 'Εμπεδίας Thuc. v. 19, and the man mentioned in the previous note.

[5] *I.G.* vii. Index (three times).

Miscellaneous.

Ivory gryphon's head (Fig. 7, 1, 2). Ht. ·038; diam. of neck ·012 m. Found just outside portico, on the west. The creature is shewn with jaws wide open, and two rows of finely-cut teeth. The ears are placed close to the top of the head, and from behind them falls a long curl, ending in a spiral, on to each shoulder.[1] The skin is shewn with

FIG. 7.—IVORY AND TERRACOTTA OBJECTS. (Scale Nos. 1, 2, 2:3; Nos. 3, 4, 1:3.)

small square scales, on each of which is a faint X-pattern. The neck is cut off vertically behind, and a small hole, originally to receive a peg, shews that the object projected from the edge of a box or vessel of some kind. The fact that it is of ivory serves to give us a clue to the date, on the analogy of the ivories from the Sanctuary of Orthia.[2] A somewhat similar (snake's?) head, still unpublished, came from that site, but is of less delicate work, and has a longer neck.

Fig. 7, 3 shews a similar head in terracotta, of coarser style, worth

[1] Many of the numerous gryphon-heads in bronze found at Olympia shew similar curls. *Bronzen*, Pls. XLV.–XLVII., Nos. 793, 794, 803, 804, 805, 807, have one curl on each side of the neck, and Nos. 796, 797 and 806 have two. None of these exhibits the squared scale-pattern; and their ears usually are more prominent than on our piece.

[2] *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 77 ff. The end of the seventh century seems the likeliest date for it.

reproducing in view of the resemblance. It is the only grotesque animal's head in this material which the site has yielded so far.

Fig. 7, 4, also of terracotta, is of interest as a close replica of the bronze *protome* described above (No. 4). The features are damaged, and the paint has perished.

Fig. 8 shews the r. f. amphora-fragment described above (p. 248).

A. M. WOODWARD.

FIG. 8.—FRAGMENT OF R. F. AMPHORA. (Scale 1 : 2.)

EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1924–25.

§ 5.—Greek Relief-ware from Sparta.

I.—Moulded Wares: Megarian Bowls.

Introduction.

The footless, handleless, bowls with moulded reliefs, which are commonly known as 'Megarian bowls,' were manufactured in various parts of the Greek world as far apart as S. Russia [1] and Italy [2] from the end of the fourth century onwards. Since the large discoveries of this ware made during the French excavations at Delos, and the detailed study of it published by Monsieur Courby,[3] we are able, not only to recognise that they do not form a single homogeneous series, but also to assign certain types to various local centres.[4] Roughly, we may distinguish three main series:—

I. The 'Homeric' bowls: [5] the shape is that of a deep bowl, with an out-turned rim; the principal decoration consists in a frieze represent-

[1] Zahn, *Jahrb.*, 1908, pp. 45 ff. (especially p. 49).

[2] Popilius and the other manufacturers of the so-called "Italian Megarian" ware, were, of course, Italians, but the Greek potter Ariston, whose chief centre of activity was Delos, appears to have had a workshop in Tarentum, to judge by the discovery of a signed mould there (Courby, *Les Vases grecs à Reliefs*, Paris, 1922, p. 365).

[3] *Op. cit.*

[4] The practice of exporting moulds (Zahn, *loc. cit.*, pp. 52 and 54) means that we cannot be sure from a mere examination of the stamps used that a bowl was actually manufactured in the place to whose series it belongs. A good instance is afforded by certain bowls from S. Russia (Zahn, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 24, 26, 32, 34, 36), which Courby (*op. cit.*, p. 396) claims as 'des ouvrages de l'industrie délienne.' Now as Courby (p. 395) has stated that the clay of the S. Russian fragments found in Delos differs considerably from that of the local products, while according to Zahn the bowls in question do not differ at all in clay from the rest, we seem forced to the conclusion that it was the moulds, and not the bowls, which were exported from Delos.

[5] Studied by C. Robert, *50th Berlin Winckelmanns Programm*, 1890, pp. 1–96, and Courby, *op. cit.*, ch. xix, 'Les bols à sujets littéraires et réalistes.' To the Bibliography there given add C. Robert, 'Zwei Homerische Becher,' *Jahrb.*, 1919, pp. 65–77.

ing scenes from legend, or occasionally daily life, either continuously or in separate scenes.[1] Other decorative elements are relegated to a strictly subordinate position [2] and consist of :—

(1) A rosette on the base.

(2) A row of small leaves, or an ornamental band around the rosette, occupying the space between that and the more or less perpendicular field for the frieze offered by the sides of the bowl.

(3) An ornamental band under the rim : a guilloche or an egg-and-dart moulding are the most common.

These bowls are assigned to the third and second centuries B.C.,[3] and to Boiotia or Chalkis as their place of origin.[4]

II. A series [5] characterised by (*a*) a shape similar to that of the Homeric bowls, (*b*) the use of a lustrous glaze, and (*c*) the fact that mythological figures still form the chief element in the decoration, which is arranged according to the following scheme :—

(1) A rosette, gorgoneion, or face (profile or front view) on the base.

(2) A calyx of leaves, springing from around the rosette. We may notice the increased variety [6] and prominence [7] of this element as contrasted with the Homeric bowls.

[1] On two fragments from Thebes in Phthiotis (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1910, Pl. II. 2, 3) the scenes occupy two registers, one above the other. This is unusual.

[2] An exception is the lekythos from Anthedon signed by the potter Dionysios (Robert, *loc. cit.*, p. 93 f.), the body of which is formed by a bowl divided into two registers; in the lower are scenes illustrating the story of Sisyphos and Antikleia, in the upper a wreath of vine-leaves and grape-clusters.

[3] Robert, *loc. cit.*, pp. 62–68, and the authorities quoted by Dragendorff, *Terra Sigillata*, pp. 12–16 (= *Bonnerjahrb.* xcvi. pp. 28–32).

[4] Almost all the bowls whose provenance is known come from this region : eighteen from Thebes, Anthedon or Tanagra, ten from Thebes in Phthiotis, six from ' Boiotia,' and one from Chalkis. Courby cites his No. 30 from Cephalonia as the only example found outside this region, but we may add the bowl in the Ashmolean Museum from Megara (*Report of the Keeper*, 1903), which he cites under No. 7 as ' provenance non indiquée,' and a fragment from Athens, Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, p. 62, II *a*, 1. In favour of Chalkis, Dragendorff points out that (1) according to Paus. ix. 19, 8, Aulis was the only place in Boiotia famous for pottery, though it is not clear whether he was referring to his own day or deriving his information from Hellenistic sources, and (2) while the inscriptions on some of the bowls shew contact with early Alexandrian scholarship (Robert, *loc. cit.*, p. 68), it was just in the early third century that Chalkis was a centre of intellectual life, the home of Lykophron, who afterwards became librarian at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphos. But it seems to have been in Eretria rather than Chalkis that Lykophron found a congenial intellectual circle (Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 25).

[5] Courby, *op. cit.*, ch. xx, ' Les bols à glaçure de décoration variée.'

[6] A specimen illustrated by Benndorf, *Griech. und Sic. Vasenbilder*, Pl. LXI. 2, for instance, introduces flower heads between the leaves, and rosettes occupy a similar position on *B.M. Vases*, iv. G101.

On a bowl from Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes*, v. Fig. 739) it forms part of the main

(3) Mythological figures, used as pure decoration, with no narrative intention.

(4) An ornamental band under the rim. For examples see Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, pp. 59–60.

That bowls of this type were manufactured in Athens is made certain by the discovery of moulds, but whether the type originated in Athens or Alexandria appears uncertain.

A small group among these bowls would appear to be earlier than the rest. They are characterised by the excellent quality of the black glaze, by careful workmanship (the rim ends in a small roll, beneath which is a narrow reserved pink stripe, and the motive on the base is sometimes surrounded by two concentric circles in relief, with a reserved stripe between) and by the arrangement of the figures in symmetrical groups, usually repeated four times.[1] Bowls on which the figures follow one another with no definite grouping are probably later and debased imitations of this type. One of the bowls found in the fourth-century tombs at Delphi exhibits this lack of systematic arrangement, and we are therefore justified in assigning to the earlier type a date considerably before the end of the fourth century. A *terminus ante quem* is given by the profile [2] of the young Herakles which occurs among the motives on the base, which is unlikely to have been used before the tetradrachms issued by Alexander had acquired a certain popularity. The debut of this type would therefore seem to fall between about 330–310 B.C.

III. A series [3] characterised by (*a*) the introduction of a shallower type of bowl,[4] with the rim turned inwards; (*b*) the use of a matt glaze; (*c*) the variation between black and red on a single vessel; [5] (*d*) the arrangement of the decoration in parallel bands or zones separated from each other by a moulding; and (*e*) the comparative unimportance of figures

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scheme of decoration, according to a suggestion of M. Perdrizet, ' Le feuillage imbriqué de la base, représente-il une vigne que vendageraient les Amours ? ' (*op. cit.*, p. 176).

[1] For illustrations see Benndorf, *op. cit.*, Pl. LIX. 2, 3; LX. 1, 3; LXI. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6; Courby, *op. cit.*, Pl. X. 6 (from the Louvre = inv. MNB. 3012); Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, i. Pl. XLVIII. 2 (= *B.M. Vases*, iv. G103).

[2] Benndorf, *op., cit.* Pl. LIX. 3*b*.

[3] Courby, *op. cit.*, chap. xxi, ' Les bols à vernis mat.' The character of the glaze by itself is, of course, an insufficient criterion for distinguishing the different series. Some bowls, for instance, are unglazed; and the quality and character of the glaze varies considerably in each series.

[4] Vessels other than bowls are fairly common in this series.

[5] This phenomenon is not peculiar to these bowls. See Zahn, *Priene*, p. 405 ff.

among the motives employed. The calyx of leaves sometimes disappears altogether, generally forms the lowest zone of decoration, and occasionally usurps the whole of the decorated space. The chief centre of diffusion of this type of bowl was Delos, but there were factories in or near Priene (Zahn, *Priene*, Nos. 20–45) and Pergamon, Conze, *Pergamon*, i. 2, *Beiblatt*, 40–43, p. 274, Figs. 1–21). Of these, Priene appears to have been closely dependent on Delos [1] while Pergamon had strong local peculiarities; in particular we may notice the introduction of a new shape of bowl, intermediate between the Delian and the Homeric, with a high rim turned slightly outwards, but lacking the elegant curve of the early black glazed bowls. Bowls were also manufactured in S. Russia and Myrina, but the potters in these places seem to have been eclectic, and their products do not constitute a separate series.

The debut of the Delian series can be dated by circumstances of the excavations to the second half of the third century. The Pergamene series, which belong to the period of the monarchy, probably began about the same time.

The chief interest and importance of the 'Megarian' bowls lies in the fact that they were an economical substitute for gold and silver vessels, and enable us, to some extent, to reconstruct in imagination the products of Greek toreutic art in the fourth and third centuries B.C. Their value in this respect obviously depends on the extent to which they can be shewn to be dependent on metal originals; and it is perhaps worth noticing that the type of bowl best represented at Sparta—that on which the calyx-ornament is the chief feature of the decoration—is the one which we are able to compare in some detail with its metal prototypes.[2] This dependence of relief ware on toreutic must always be borne in mind when we

[1] Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 401, claims three of the bowls, Nos. 23, 26, 27, as of Delian manufacture on account of the identity of the stamps used. But Zahn treats them as identical in clay and glaze with the rest, so that here too we are probably dealing with the importation of moulds or stamps. The shape is with few exceptions that with the characteristic Delian rim turned slightly inwards: see profiles, Zahn, *loc. cit.*, p. 402, Fig. 528.

[2] I give a list, in chronological order, of the metal vessels which constitute the material for such comparison.

(1) Two cups from Taman (*Comptes Rendus*, 1880, Pl. II. 19 and Pl. IV. 8); early third century.

(2) Silver flask from Boiotia (*Arch. Anz.*, 1899, p. 129, Figs. 11, 12, 13).

(3) Two bowls at Naples (*Arch. Anz.*, 1897, p. 129, Figs. 16, 17); second century.

(4) The exterior of the Athena bowl from Hildesheim (Pernice and Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, Pls. VI, VII; also *Arch. Anz.*, 1897, p. 128, Fig. 15); first century.

attempt to estimate the relation of Arretine ware to the earlier Greek relief wares. No doubt the potters of Arretium learnt their technical processes, the use of stamps and even their characteristic red glaze, from the Greek potters; but they used these technical processes to produce imitations, not of the comparatively unimportant Greek wares, but of the masterpieces of contemporary Augustan silversmiths. We should therefore expect to find the motives used on Arretine ware paralleled on existing pieces of Graeco-Roman silver-plate rather than on 'Megarian' bowls; and such is, in fact, the case.

EXAMPLES FROM SPARTA.

With these results in mind, it has seemed worth while to study the fragments of 'Megarian' bowls found at Sparta during the various campaigns of the British School. These fragments, which are preserved in the Museum at Sparta, are not very numerous; they are mostly quite small, and come from the most scattered parts of the site.[1] The questions to which we expect an examination of the fragments to provide an answer are two: '*Were the bowls manufactured locally or imported?*' and '*What is their relation to the known series?*'

The fact that *some* bowls were manufactured locally is proved by the discovery of the following moulds:—

(1) (Fig. 1, *a*). Part of base of mould: grey clay; from a circle scratched in the soft clay with a blunt instrument [2] (which would shew in relief on the moulded bowl), with three or four moulded shells set at intervals to serve as feet (of which one remains), spring a narrow moulded leaf of some water-plant, and a number of lines scratched in the clay, apparently intended to represent the veins of an akanthos-leaf. At each side of the shell are curved scratched lines, with a dot above them.

[1] *E.g.*, from the Orthia Sanctuary and neighbourhood, the altar mound, the Hellenistic tombs (*B.S.A.* xiii. 1907, pp. 165–166), the Acropolis, a field N. of the Acropolis (**L 11**), E. of the Roman Villa in **M 15**, and the site of the Byzantine church (Hagios Nikon?) on the Acropolis (cf. p. 118 above).

[2] The practice of drawing in the soft clay to supplement an inadequate stock of stamps is illustrated by an interesting 'Homeric' bowl published by C. Robert (*Jahrb.*, 1919, pp. 72–77, and Pl. 6) representing the death of Agamemnon. Of the figure of Aigistheus, Zahn writes: 'Der Kopf, den der Stempel bot, scheint auch zu der vorliegenden Szene nicht gepasst zu haben. Der Töpfer hat ihn durch ein scheussliches Gebilde ersetzt, das er offenbar nach dem Eindrücken des Stempels freihändig mit dem Modellierstecher in die Formwandung eingetieft hat,' *loc. cit.*, p. 73, note 1.

(2) Part of a foot of mould: grey clay; rosette on base, surrounded by rows of small holes stabbed in the soft clay.

(3) Part of top of mould: pink clay; scale pattern of large leaves with midriff, with the tip in high relief.

(4) Side of mould: grey clay; godroons. Of these, the first three come from site **L 11**, which also produced a handful of fragments of bowls. A mould for a terracotta (Fig. 1, *c*) also came from the same site, which appears to have been a sort of potters' quarter in Hellenistic times.

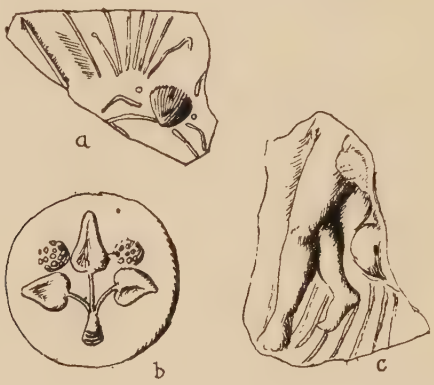

FIG. 1.—POTTER'S MOULDS AND A STAMP FROM **L 11**. (Scale 1 : 2.)

The presence of the stamp (Fig. 1, *b*), also from **L 11**, is a puzzle. The design occurs on Pergamene vessels with applied reliefs so frequently as to cause Conze to think of a trademark.[1] The shape of our stamp, like a wooden button-mould, is adapted to the process in which the design was stamped on a thin sheet of clay, and then cut out and applied to the walls of the vessel to be decorated; and indeed stamps identical with ours in design and shape have been found at Pergamon.[2] But no examples of this technique have been found at Sparta, which in any way recall the Pergamene ware to which the stamp belongs, and the shape renders the stamp thoroughly unsuited to the preparation of a mould.

Among the fragments of bowls we can distinguish several which differ conspicuously from the rest in fabric or design :—

[1] *Pergamon*, i. 3, p. 276; a beautiful example of its use is the red-glazed goblet from Laodicea, *B.M. Roman Pottery*, L 35, Pl. VIII.

[2] *Pergamon*, i. 2, *Beibl.* 33, 14; *Ath. Mitt.*, 1910, p. 521, Fig. 7.

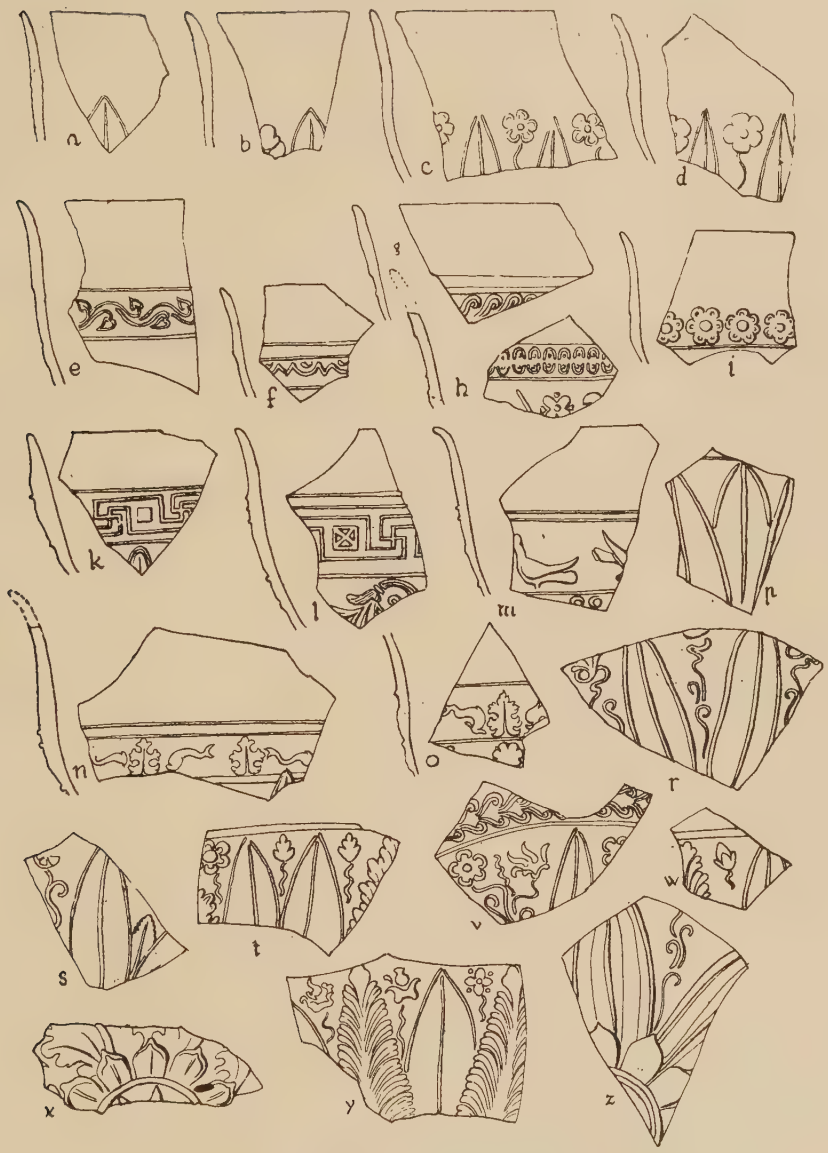

FIG. 2.—FRAGMENTS OF 'MEGARIAN' BOWLS, CHIEFLY RIMS. (Scale 1 : 2.)

(1) (Fig. 2, *l*). Fragment of rim, turned slightly outwards. Hard red paste, matt glaze, varying from red to black. Above, a maeander; in the centre of the square is an interpolated square with diagonals; below, a scroll.[1]

The fragment shewn alongside (Fig. 2, *k*) appears to be a local imitation. The walls are thick, the glaze matt black, and the design clumsily executed (notice the absence of diagonals in the interpolated square). Below the maeander appears the tip of a water-leaf.

(2) Fragment of rim: similar fabric, similar maeander.

(3) Fragment of rim (Fig. 2, *o*) similar fabric and profile: two dolphins facing, with a palmette-like leaf between;[2] below, a rosette.

The fragment alongside (Fig. 2, *n*) appears to be a local imitation: the clay is coarse and gritty, there is no glaze, and the design is clumsily executed. Below the ornamental band appears the tip of a water-leaf.

(4) (Fig. 2, *m*). Similar in fabric and profile, but more highly glazed: two birds facing in opposite directions; below, two small bosses, evidently part of a dotted line under the rim.

(5) Fragment of side, similar fabric: tip of godroon, with ornamental 'squiggles' above.

(6) (Fig. 5, *m*). Fragment of side: pink clay, matt glaze, black below, red above. Tip of an akanthos-leaf, above it, a Cupid running to l.; on the right, in the space between it and the next leaf, a smaller female figure, nude to the hips, kneeling to r. and apparently blowing a trumpet, to which a piece of drapery is attached.

(7) (Fig. 5, *n*). Fragment of rim and side: clay chalky grey with traces of mica, matt glaze, reddish-brown to black. Tip of two akanthos-leaves; between them a Cupid (shooting?); the ground is indicated by a moulded line. Traces of other figures right and left.[3]

[1] Both motives occur on Delian bowls. See Courby, *op. cit.*, Figs. 76, 4 and 77, 7. The lower part of the bowl was probably occupied by a calyx of leaves, and several examples from Delos give an idea of its general appearance, *e.g.* Courby, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIII, Nos. 16, 17, 36. For the scroll see also fragments from Priene (Zahn, *Priene*, Nos. 27, 28). The maeander occurs at Pergamon, both with the diagonals on the interpolated square (*Pergamon*, i. 2; *Beibl.*, 40, 1) and without them (*Beibl.* 43, 2).

[2] Palmettes, joined by spirals, with dolphins at each side, are very common on the ornamental band under the rims on fragments found on the Athenian Acropolis (Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, p. 59, Nos. 11 and 12). A frieze of dolphins facing each other in pairs occurs on a bowl from Priene (Zahn, *Priene*, p. 405, No. 31). Dolphins are a common motive in all the series. They occur on rims from Pergamon combined with rosettes (*Pergamon*, i, 2, p. 274, 1) and sea-horses (i. 2; *Beibl.* 43, 2).

[3] This bowl recalls one from S. Russia (Zahn, *Jahrb.*, 1908, pp. 45 ff., No. 13). A

Besides these two fragments, there is only one fragment which shews traces of figures (Fig. 5, *p*). The figure appears to be a Nike hovering,[1] but it is very obscure. The fragment comes from **L 11**, and the fabric presents no peculiarities.

(8) (Fig. 4, *t*). This fragment differs from the rest in the excellent quality of the black glaze, recalling the Attic. The decoration was apparently divided into zones; there remain the top of a calyx of leaves and flower-heads, and a wreath of olive-leaves tied in bundles,[2] with rosettes set in the empty spaces between.

The rest of the fragments may be studied together. The clay is usually a smooth chalky grey or pink, occasionally in the coarser examples a gritty grey, all with traces of mica. There are three varieties of glaze :—

(*a*) An opaque, lustrous brownish-black glaze of various hues, well incorporated with the clay.

(*b*) A deep-black matt glaze, well incorporated with the clay.

(*c*) A thin brown matt wash. This is only used on a few inferior specimens.[3]

The shape is invariably that with the high, slightly out-turned rim characteristic of Pergamon.[4] There is no example of the Delian inturned rim,[5] though a few examples (Figs. 2, *m*; 5, *n*) approach the more flaring curves of the earlier bowls.

The decoration shews very little variety: the absence of figure motives has already been noticed. The majority of the fragments can be assigned to a single type of bowl, that in which a calyx of leaves and flowering stalks, springing from a circle round the base, reaches right up

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similar arrangement of leaves and figures occurs on a bowl from Pergamon (*op. cit.*, i. 2; *Beibl.* 43, 3), but the figures are more insignificant.

[1] This motive occurs fairly frequently among the 'bols à glaçure'; also among the little gilded clay ornaments which were used as substitutes for jewellery.

[2] A similar motive occurs on Delian bowls, with a group of three small dots, to represent berries, instead of the rosettes (Courby, *op. cit.*, Pl. XII. 15; XIII. 29), or with a stalk and one berry (*op. cit.*, Figs. 77–8); also on a bowl from S. Russia, and another from Priene (Zahn, *Jahrb.*, 1908, *loc. cit.*, No. 8, and *Priene*, No. 32 *a* and *b*). A simple form with only three leaves occurs at Pergamon (*op. cit.*, *Beibl.* 43, Nos. 12, 15, 19; on No. 6 it is combined with rosettes to form the band of ornament under the rim. The motive also occurs on a silver egg-platter from Boscoreale (*Mon. Piot*, v. Pl. XXIX).

[3] Some fragments are unglazed.

[4] *Pergamon*, i. 2; *Beibl.* 40, 1, and 43, *passim*. It also occurs in Priene (see above, p. 280, n. 1) and S. Russia (Zahn, *Jahrb.*, 1908, Nos. 11–17, 20, 21, 25).

[5] Fig. 2, *k* is the nearest approach to it.

to the rim;[1] there is sometimes a band of ornament beneath the rim (Figs. 2, *k*, *n*, *v*; 4, *o*), but it is sometimes omitted (Fig. 2, *a–d*).[2]

An analysis of the elements out of which the decoration is built up shews their inferiority to the bowls of Pergamon and Delos. The narrow, stylised akanthos leaf is a meagre substitute for the luxuriant, naturalistic leaves, with the tips turned over, of these series, which appear but seldom on our bowls (Fig. 3), and as it no longer presents that effective contrast with the narrow water-leaves which is employed so happily on one of the bowls from Pergamon,[3] we are not surprised to find that the practice of alternating them is dropped: Fig. 2, *t* has two water-leaves side by side between the stylised akanthos leaves, which appear to be discarded

FIG. 3.—FRAGMENT OF "MEGARIAN" BOWL WITH AKANTHOS LEAF. (Scale 1 : 2.)

altogether on Figs. 2, *c–d*, *r*, *z*; 4, *c*,[4] while on the bowl of Philokles (Fig. 4, *o*) it is the water-leaves which disappear. On Fig. 2, *p*, even the flowering shoots disappear, and we have a simple calyx of water-leaves. The wide, round-ended or heart-shaped type of water-leaf, which appears at both Delos and Pergamon, does not appear among the motives used, and even the narrow pointed variety undergoes debasement; on some of the fragments these leaves are not in moulded relief, but the outline and midriff are rendered with a barbotine-like line, as if the design had been scratched on the soft clay of the mould.[5] The lowest point is reached in two coarse

[1] The origin and development of the calyx-ornament has been studied by Zahn (*Priene*, pp. 411–417). It occupies the whole field below the ornamental band separating the rim from the body on bowls from Delos (Courby, *op. cit.*, Pl. XII. 1, 2, 3, XIII. 17, 20), and Pergamon (*Pergamon, Beibl.*, 40, 1; 43, 1).

[2] Where the fragment does not reach up to the rim it is obviously impossible to tell whether there was an ornamental band or not. Similarly the rims on Fig. 2, *e–i*, *m*, *o*, give no hint of the decoration beneath them; *h* appears to have belonged to the type under discussion.

[3] *Pergamon*, i. 2; *Beibl.* 40, 1.

[4] A fragment from Pergamon shews only narrow pointed leaves, with flowering stalks between (*Beibl.* 43, 10).

[5] See above, p 281, No. 1.

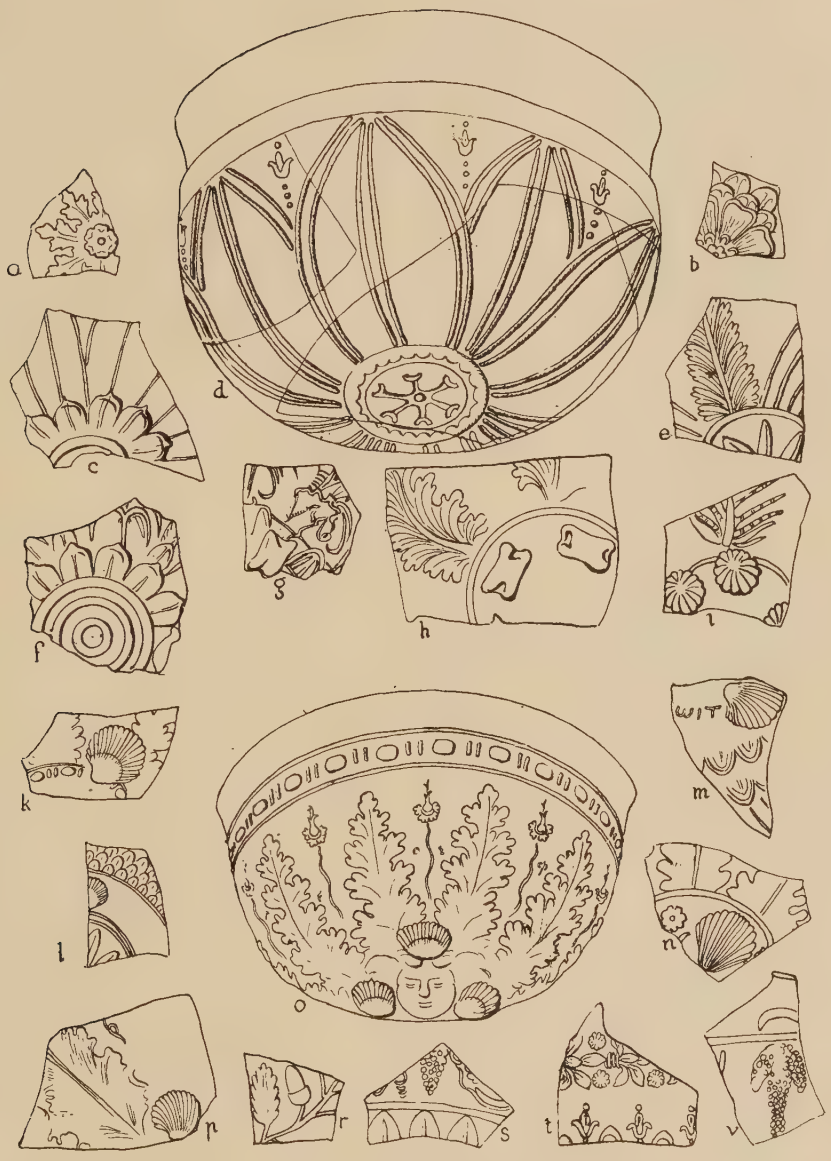

FIG. 4.—'MEGARIAN' BOWLS AND FRAGMENTS, CHIEFLY VASES. (Scale 1 : 2.)

bowls from **L 11**, of which one is illustrated (Fig. 4, *d*), and the other in Fig. 6. The clay is chalky pink, the glaze a thin brown matt wash; the rim of Fig. 4, *d* has been clumsily added after the vessel was removed from the mould, and the decoration is a hasty and impressionistic reproduction of the prevalent type. The calyx does not spring from the centre of the base, but around a fairly wide circle, which is often marked off by a line in relief (Figs. 2, *x*, *z*; 4, *c*, *e*, *f*, *h*, *i*, *n*), once by a bead-and-reel moulding, Fig. 4 (*k*),[1] and often set round with largish petals with the tips in high relief, the whole forming a sort of stand-ring, and presenting the general appearance of a sunflower (Figs. 2, *x*, *z*; 4, *c*, *f*). The inside of the circle is sometimes occupied by a rosette (Figs. 2, *x*, *z*; 4, *a*, *b*, *e*), or by concentric circles in relief (Fig. 4, *f*): particularly common is the use of moulded shells, astragaliskoi, or rosettes,[2] as feet; Figs. 1, *a*; 4, *g*—*p*; 5, *b*, *o*; on the bowl of Philokles (Fig. 4, *o*) they are set round a gorgoneion, or mask.[3]

Types of Decoration.

A. Decoration covering the whole body.

(1) (Fig. 5, *h*, *k*). A scale pattern of leaves.[4]

Different types of this scale pattern are shewn on the fragments

[1] As on a fragment from Pergamon, *op. cit.*, i. 2; *Beibl.* 42, 7.

[2] The practice of using moulded shells, masks, leaves in high relief, etc. as feet, is derived from metal prototypes. Zahn, *Priene*, p. 397, and Courby, *B.C.H.*, 1913, p. 427, give references for examples in both clay and metal. To these add :—

(1) Athens, Nat. Mus. 12622 : a bowl in many ways recalling ours. On the base a rosette, around it four shells, with small leaves between : long narrow leaves, rising to the ornamental border beneath the rim, which consists of a very small egg-and-dart in shallow relief, dolphins, and a running quirk.

(2) Athens, 2112, from Boiotia : four shells as feet.

(3) A bowl at Delphi (*Fouilles*, v. p. 177, No. 435, Fig. 742), ' à bas quatre coquillages autour d'un gorgoneion.'

(4) A small fragment in the museum at Delphi with a shell attached.

(5) A bowl in the museum at Thebes (LXXV. 1) which has on the base four " blobs " apparently meant for shells.

Except the bowl in the Louvre (H 385 = *Mon. Piot*, vi. p. 50, Fig. 14) with three masks, mentioned by Courby, these are the only examples of such appendages on Megarian bowls which have come to my notice outside Sparta. For astragaliskoi I know of no actual parallel. Pollux (vi. 99) says of a psychter ' *οὐ μὴν ἔχει πυθμένα, ἀλλ' ἀστραγαλίσκους*, and it is probable that he is using the word in its strict sense as ' supports in the form of knuckle-bones.'

[3] A gorgoneion or mask occurs on three bowls from Pergamon (*Beibl.* 42, Nos. 5, 6, 7). There is no example from Delos of any head or mask on the base (Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 392).

[4] This pattern is probably derived from metal prototypes (like the cup from Boscoreale, *Mon. Piot*, v. Pl. XXIII) on which it can be traced back to the fourth century (*Not. degli*

FIG. 5.—FRAGMENTS OF 'MEGARIAN' BOWLS, CHIEFLY SIDES. (Scale 1 : 2.)

(Figs. 4, *l*; 5, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*), but they are so small that it is impossible to tell the scheme of decoration to which they belonged. Fig. 4, *l* is interesting as shewing the same type of base as is found with the prevalent type of bowl. On the fragment of base Fig. 5, *d*, the leaves may just have defined the circle from which the calyx sprang, as on the base Fig. 4, *m*, where the base of one of the narrow water-leaves is left.

(2) (Fig. 5, *c*.) The design is obscure; the bowl appears to have been divided into hexagonal fields by lines [1] consisting of small bosses [2] and the fields then filled with lines scratched in the clay of the mould. A relief line marked off the base, which was decorated with similar scratched lines.

(3) Fragments of three bowls ornamented with small, flat bosses.

B. Decoration divided into zones.

(1) (Fig. 5, *l*.) Scale pattern.[3]

(2) A fragment of base; part of moulded shell surrounded by two concentric circles in relief and three rows of small, flat bosses. As the space between the top row of bosses and the break is wider than that between the rows of bosses, it is evident that they did not cover the whole bowl.

(3) (Fig. 4, *r*.) Wreath of oak-leaves and acorns.[4]

(4) (Fig. 4, *s*.) Tip of calyx of leaves; above, a line in relief, and a wreath of vine-leaves and grape-clusters.[5]

(5) (Fig. 4, *v*.) A grape-cluster, possibly from a wreath similar to (4), but larger, occupying the whole space between base-ornament and rim, just as the scroll-pattern, which generally occupies only the central zone, occupies the whole bowl on a specimen from S. Russia (Zahn, *Jahrb.*, 1908, p. 51, No. 6).

Scavi, 1896, p. 382, Fig. 8). It is used to cover the whole bowl on specimens from Delos (Courby, *op. cit.*, Pl. XII. 8, 13; XIII. 24; for the different types of leaf used, see Courby, *op. cit.*, Fig. 80, 8), S. Russia (Zahn, *Jahrb.*, 1908, No. 36), and Thrace (*Arch. Anz.*, 1918, p. 25, Fig. 29, *c*, *h*).

[1] This division into hexagons occurs on bowls from Delos (Courby, *op. cit.*, Fig. 80, 1 and Pl. XII. 7) and on two bowls from S. Russia (Zahn, *op. cit.*, Nos. 25 and 26). Incised hexagons also occur on plain black glazed bowls (Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, p. 70, No. 6).

[2] As on No. 25 from S. Russia, mentioned above.

[3] This constitutes the lower zone on a fragment from Pergamon (*Beibl.* 43, 22); the upper one is occupied by a wreath of oak-leaves and acorns; a motive which, so far as I am aware, does not occur at Delos. For the types of scale pattern used at Pergamon, see also *Beibl.*, 43, Nos. 7, 8, 10.

[4] See note 3 above. Oak wreaths also occur on Arretine ware.

[5] Cf. Courby, *op. cit.*, Fig. 77, 9 (from Delos); Zahn, *Jahrb.*, 1908, pp. 50 ff., Nos. 4 and 5 (from S. Russia); *Pergamon, Beibl.* 43, 8.

(6) A bowl with a rosette with a sunk centre on the base; around it a circle from which rises an elaborate calyx of akanthos and water-leaves with tendrils between, above that an elaborate wreath of vine and ivy leaves.

(7) (Fig. 5, *b*.) Coarse ware, gritty grey clay, no glaze. The base was surrounded by three more or less concentric circles with moulded shells at intervals; above, four rows of rosettes, the two outer rows being rather smaller; above, a line in relief, a row of leaves and a border of bosses between lines in relief. The rim is missing.

(8) (Fig. 5, *a*.) Two registers, separated by lines in relief. The design of the lower one is not clear (perhaps a composite floral scroll?). The upper is filled with highly stylised flower-heads, divided into compartments by parallel curved lines.

(9) (Fig. 5, *l*.) The bowl signed by Sosimos. The base is occupied by a rosette, surrounded by a ring of small circles between concentric circles, and an outer ring of larger circles. The rest of the decoration consists in rosettes surrounded by festoons depending from bows;[1] below the rim a ring of small circles, and two lines in relief.

The Potters' Signatures.

Sosimos (Fig. 5, *l*) and Philokles (Fig. 4, *o*) are the only potters whose signatures have come down to us in full. The signature of the former is interesting, as it appears in the nominative case,[2] while the genitive is the form most often used by the makers of 'Megarian bowls.'[3] Three fragments bear portions of signatures :—

(Fig. 4, *m*.) Round the base, which appears to have had no ornament, in relief ΩΙΤ. This is probably part of a name ending in —*τίων*, the signature being retrograde.[4] Where the signature was produced—as

[1] Cf. *Pergamon*, i. 2, p. 274, Figs. 16, 17. The festoons are much more elaborate than on our bowl.

[2] The only other examples I know are ΟVΙΛΙC = (Vilis) (Zahn, *Jahrb.*, 1908, p. 73) and ΠΟCCΙΔΟC (? = ΠΑCΙΔΕΟC) (*loc. cit.*, p. 68, note 24), both from S. Russia; ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗC from Cervetri (*loc. cit.*, p. 74, note); ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟC on a bowl from Boiotia in Athens (Nat. Mus. No. 11556), and the graffito ΜΑΡΩ, a woman's name, from S. Russia (*Arch. Anz.*, 1912, p. 341).

[3] For the known signatures, see Zahn, *loc. cit.*, p. 72 sqq., note 31, and Courby, *op. cit.*, pp. 363–366, 393, 412, 415–416.

[4] As on a vase signed ΑCΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟV in the National Museum at Athens (No. 12619: provenance unknown), and one signed ΕΥΒΑΝΟΡΟC from Gythion (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1892, p. 192).

here—not by means of a stamp but by scratching the name in the soft clay of the mould, this would naturally be the case unless the maker of the mould wrote looking-glass wise.[1]

(Fig. 5, *o*.) Part of a large, flat base, from **L 11**, pink clay, grey matt glaze; the base is occupied by a large star with eight rays, set round with four moulded shells; the whole surrounded by two lines in relief, between which appeared the signature in relief. Only the letters Ο Χ remain.

(Fig. 6.) Possibly part of the signature ϹΩΣΙΜΟϹ from **L 11**.

General Conclusions.

The fragments belong to the third series of bowls: there is nothing that recalls the 'Homeric' bowls, and only a single obscure motive

FIG. 6.—FRAGMENT SIGNED BY THE POTTER ϹΩΣΙΜΟϹ. (Scale 1 : 2.)

(Fig. 5, *p*) which recalls the 'bols à glaçure.' Of the two more or less independent centres from which this type of bowl was disseminated throughout the Greek world—Delos and Pergamon—many circumstances combine to point to the latter. Not only does the Pergamene stamp (Fig. 1, *b* above) prove trade relations, but the general appearance of the fragments finds its closest parallel on certain specimens from Pergamon.[2] Certain motives are common to the repertoire of both the Delian and Pergamene potters, but others, namely the gorgoneion on the base and the wreath of oak-leaves and acorns, do not occur at Delos. The absence of the characteristic Delian rim has already been noticed, nor is there a single specimen of the flat unadorned base, which is not uncommon at Delos.

[1] As on a mould for a lamp, bearing the signature of the potter Ariston (Furtwängler, *Coll. Sabouroff*, Pl. LXXV.).

[2] *Op. cit.*, i. 2; *Beibl.* 40, 1; 42, 3, 5; 43, 1, 2.

We seem, however, to be dealing with the products of local potters under the influence of the Pergamene series, rather than with actual importation. The general fact of local manufacture is attested by the discovery of moulds; and the appearance of a moulded water-leaf on mould No. 1 (p. 281) warns us that we need not expect all local products to be decorated in so hastily-executed a manner as the two bowls Fig. 4, *d* and Fig. 6. Nor will the quality of the glaze afford a criterion, as all three varieties occur on the same chalky grey clay; besides, neither variety corresponds with the description of the Pergamene glaze which 'wechselt von glänzendem rot bis zum schwarz. Vielfach gehen diese Farben bei Unregelmässigkeit des Brennens an demselben Gefäss ineinander über' (Conze, *Pergamon*, i. 2, pp. 274, 275). Moreover, the monotony in the scheme of decoration, the simplification of the elements out of which it is built up, and the practice of scratching motives in the mould, all suggest local potters trying to reproduce with an inadequate supply of stamps the general effect of imported specimens. The extreme fondness for the use of shells and astragaliskoi as feet also seems to be a local peculiarity. I think we may regard Nos. 1–5, p. 284 f., as almost certainly imported, and Nos. 6, 7, 8 as possibly so; but the rest I am inclined to regard as local products.

To what period are we to assign the activity of the potters who made these bowls? The date suggested by the study of the contents of the Hellenistic tombs for the bowl of Philokles,[1] namely, the first half of the second century B.C., agrees very well with such indications of date as are revealed by a study of the fragments. The series to which they belong did not begin at Delos, the most active centre of its manufacture and dissemination, until after 250 B.C., and its debut at Pergamon was probably about the same date. We can hardly assign to the activity at Sparta a contemporaneous start, as we must allow time for the foreign products to become sufficiently familiar to create a demand for imitations. How long this might be in the then existing conditions of taste and commerce at Sparta it is difficult to say, but there are indications that the bowls of Philokles and Sosimos, which belong to the second century, were among the earlier products of the industry. The gorgoneion on the former, the festoons on the latter, are both without parallel among our fragments. Now 'it may be taken as a general rule of decoration, at

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 167.

least for Greek pottery, that motives become abundant directly a style secures a vogue, and that afterwards there comes a period when a very small number of stereotyped designs are repeated *ad nauseam.*'[1] No doubt this argument would have more force if the number of our fragments were considerably larger than it is, but so far as it goes it suggests that the manufacture at Sparta did not begin until the end of the third or early second century. It would perhaps be rash to go further and seek in the loss of their ports and shipping which followed the defeat of Nabis in the year 195, the circumstances which thus threw the Spartans on the resources of their local potters.

II.—Bowls with Medallions.[2]

This class is poorly represented at Sparta; all the medallions are in flat relief.

i. (Fig. 7, *a*.) Head of Athena: diam. ·025 m. Several specimens. The head is represented full face, in a helmet with three crests and flapping cheek-pieces, and recalls in a summary manner the well-known head of the Parthenos on gold medallions from S. Russia.[3] The subject occurs on several clay medallions,[4] of which we may mention one from S. Russia [5] because it has been compared to the mask on the base of a 'Megarian' bowl found at Athens,[6] and thus forms a link between the two classes.[7] The medallion has been cut out of a sheet of clay and 'appliquéed' to the base of the bowl, a technical peculiarity of bowls found in Asia Minor, which appears to have enjoyed a particular vogue at Pergamon.[8]

[1] Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona*, p. 33.

[2] For a discussion of this class see Pagenstecher, *Die Calenische Reliefkeramik*, I. *Vorstufen*, pp. 5–21.

[3] Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, Pl. XIX. 1, and pp. 631 and 632.

[4] They are mostly derived from the type of the Russian medallions. For a list of Greek examples, see Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 226, No. 3: for examples in Calene ware, Pagenstecher, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24, No. 5 (bowls), and pp. 91–92, Nos. 165–167 (gutti). Of less artistic merit are two stamps of Priene (Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, p. 466, Nos. 236, 237), which Zahn considers were used for decorating fancy bread.

[5] Malmberg, *Materialen zur Archäologie Russlands*, vii. Pl. I. 4. = Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 365.

[6] Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, p. 67, c. 3.

[7] For further links, see Pagenstecher, *op. cit.*, p. 19. Löschcke notes the technical resemblance between the bowls with a portrait medallion of Euripides and the 'Homeric' bowls, and suggests that there may have existed metal prototypes with a portrait medallion inside and scenes from the plays outside (Dragendorff, *Terra sigillata*, p. 15 (31) note).

[8] Pagenstecher, *op. cit.* p. 11.

FIG. 7.—MISCELLANEOUS RELIEF-WARES. (Scale 1 : 2.)

ii. (Fig. 7, *b*.) Rosette: chalky grey clay and matt black glaze. This use of a rosette is, so far as I know, unique. Its prototype is to be sought in metal originals like that illustrated by Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, p. 90, where the centre of the interior is decorated by a raised and gilded circle with a rosette engraved on it, and narrow bands of engraved ornament occur round the inside of the rim, and half-way up the side. Imitations of such bowls may be seen in the bowls of black glazed ware with a painted star on the centre of the interior, and painted decoration on the sides.[1] The white and yellow paint used is probably intended to suggest the gilding of the engraved decoration of the original. Our fragment should probably be regarded as a slightly later imitation of a similar original, made after relief had superseded painting '*à retouches*' as a means of imitating metallic originals; painted decoration may have been retained on the sides of the bowl.[2]

iii. (Fig. 7, *c*.) Fragment of medallion. Matt black glaze. Hand holding a kantharos.

iv. (Fig. 7, *e*.) Portion of 'phiale mesompalos.' The medallion, which is surrounded by a moulded ring, represents the facing head of a youthful Herakles.[3] The lion's skin is worn on the head, and the two front paws are tied on the breast. The features are very slight and almost suggest that Omphale[4] rather than Herakles may be represented. The workmanship and the black glaze are both good.

[1] *E.g.* Watzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 70, Nos. 7*a*, *b*, *c*, p. 80, No. 29, p. 81, No. 30, p. 82, No. 32 (platter).

[2] The combination of painted or incised decoration with a relief medallion in the centre of the interior is more usual than the combination of painting and relief on 'Megarian' bowls, of which I only know the following three examples:—

(1) Athens, Nat. Mus. 2112, from Boiotia. Under the rim are twelve moulded rosettes, painted alternately pink and white; probably in imitation of silver vessels decorated with inset precious stones, like the two bowls from Hildesheim referred to on p. 280, n. 2, and an elegant kantharos from Tarentum (*Not. degli Scavi*, 1897, pp. 380–381, Figs. 5, 5*a*).

(2) and (3) Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1901, p. 71, 8*a* and *b*, two fragments of rims, each with two bands of decoration, one painted and one in relief. Both the painted motives appear in relief on 'Megarian' bowls; indeed the painted dolphins on the second of these fragments are repeated in relief in the lower band of decoration. A simplified version, in relief, of the ivy-wreath painted on the other rim appears on one of our fragments (Fig. 2, *e*).

[3] A beardless Herakles mask occurs on three askoi in London, *B.M. Vases*, IV. G73–75. For Calene ware, see Pagenstecher, *op. cit.*, p. 65, No. 85 (bearded, on a bowl) and p. 111, No. 258 (gutti).

[4] Five examples of the head of Omphale in the lion's skin are quoted by Pagenstecher on gutti of Calene ware (*op. cit.*, p. 112, No. 260).

III.—MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS.

A selection of moulded wares, chiefly from **L 11**, is shewn on Fig. 7, *f–m*.

A curious piece of relief-ware is illustrated on Fig. 7, *d*. It is obviously intended to imitate the common type of bronze handle ending in a human hand. The hand, which is flat and carelessly modelled, is left in the pink of the clay, while the vessel is black glazed.

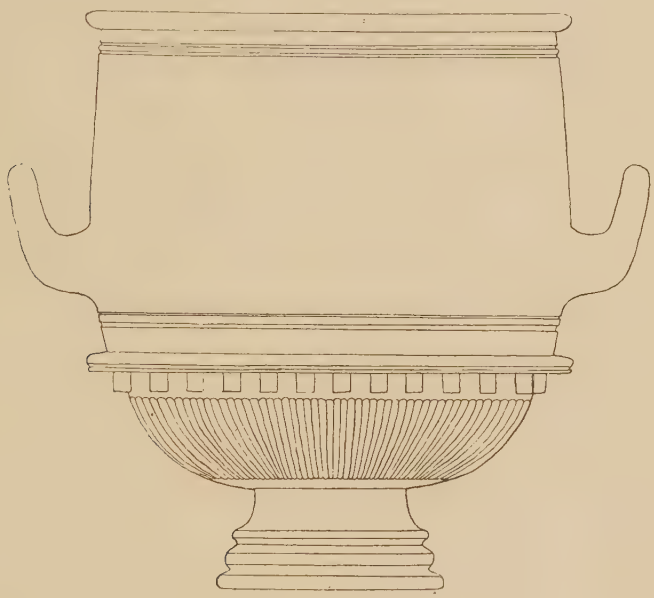

FIG. 8.—RECONSTRUCTION OF KRATER.

IV.—VESSELS WITH APPLIED RELIEFS.

From the pit at the southern end of the central trenches on the Acropolis, and the ancient trenches draining into it,[1] come a number of fragments from a series of black-glazed kraters, decorated with motives in relief. A complete list of these fragments would obviously be premature, as the deposit is not yet completely dug, but a few general remarks may not be out of place.

The kraters are all of grey clay, with a black glaze; this latter, however, varies considerably in quality: sometimes it is lustrous, and sometimes matt; on three fragments, which probably belong to a single vessel,

[1] See p. 251, above.

it is of an unpleasant mottled red, no doubt due to some accident or lack of skill in the firing; on several fragments it has disappeared almost entirely, though in general it is well consolidated with the clay. Some fragments have a chalky slip on the inside, with daubs of the black glaze. Most have the same glaze inside as out.

The kraters vary somewhat in dimensions; the diagram in Fig. 8 is taken from No. 1 below, with the missing foot supplied from No. 3. The profile of the rim, and of the dentil moulding above the fluted bowl which forms the lower part of the krater, differs from one specimen to another, and the bowl is sometimes plain instead of fluted. The fluting is shallow, as if scratched with a blunt instrument in the clay. As there are eleven varieties of the dentil moulding among the fragments, it is clear that we are dealing with at least that number of kraters. It is not certain that a rim-piece inscribed Σαλιαρ - - belongs to the series, but the similarity of profile and fabric makes it probable that it does so. One of the fragments (motive *b*) has part of an inscription, ΣΑ/. (part of Λ). As this is the beginning of the inscription, it cannot be restored ['Λ]σαγ[αίαι], but is probably the dedicator's name: in which case the whole series may have been dedicated by this Σαλίαρ[χος?]. For the practice of dedicating a whole series, we may refer to the numerous vases and fragments inscribed with the name of Chilonis from the Orthia sanctuary.[1]

The shape is obviously derived from metal prototypes, but I do not know of any exact parallel. The vessel was not made in a mould complete with reliefs, but the latter were cut out and applied to the walls while still soft, rather like pastry ornaments for a piecrust. This mode of decoration occurs in the fourth and third centuries on black-glazed situlae from Italy,[2] where it is combined with simple painted decoration and the plaque with the relief on it is trimmed into a neat rectangle; on fluted vessels,[3] chiefly hydriae,[4] of the third century, where it is combined with bands of painted decoration; and on Pergamene ware of the second century.[5] We may note that one of our motives (*a*) occurs also on a fragment, from Tangaris' garden (immediately

[1] *B.S.A.*, xxiv. p. 116.
[2] A list is given by Schröder, *74th Berlin Winckelmanns Programm*, p. 10.
[3] Courby, *op. cit.*, ch. xv, 'Vases côtelés.'
[4] The kelebe, *B.M. Vases*, G29, is exceptional.
[5] Courby, *op. cit.*, ch. xxiv, 'La céramique à reliefs à Pergame.'

west of the Orthia Sanctuary), on which there are traces of both fluting and painting.

The number of motives is comparatively small, and in Figs. 9 and 10 we offer illustrations of all the motives occurring on fragments which can be assigned to this series of kraters. There are several joins among the fragments, and others we can sometimes group together as belonging to the same pot on account of similarity of fabric. The vessels of which we are thus enabled to form some idea as a whole are four in number, and it will be convenient to consider the motives in these groups.

I. *The Athene Krater.* This is the most complete vessel we have. The fragments, when put together, give us about half the rim and considerable portions of the fluted bowl beneath the dentil moulding. The profile of the dentil moulding is square, as shewn in Fig. 8. The motives of the rim are shewn on Fig. 9, *a*, *b* and *c*.

(Fig. 9, *a*.) The goddess Athena is sitting facing towards the left, breast and face being shewn in three-quarter view. Her shield with the Gorgoneion in the centre is resting on the ground beside her, and her right arm is raising a fold of drapery that lies across her lap. She wears a Corinthian helmet, and her hair falls in long locks down to her shoulder. The general pose of the figure, the treatment of the breasts, the heavy fold of drapery across the knees, and its contrast with the finer perpendicular folds of the chiton around the feet, all recall the reverse type of Pergamene silver coins from Attalos I to Attalos II.[1] There are, of course, differences: the absence of a crest on the helmet, the action of the right hand, which on the coins is holding out a wreath at arm's length, the position of the feet, the three-quarters view of the face, and the fact that the shield is turned towards the left. Still, the comparison derives importance from the fact that the coin has already been compared[2] to a much more important work of art, the silver bowl from Hildesheim, with an 'emblema' of the seated Athena, which incidentally shews a greater divergence from the coin-type than our relief. If these resemblances are more than accidental, it is natural to suppose that some well-known work of art served as a prototype for all three. The most tempting conjecture is that they were all derived from a cult statue of

[1] Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon*, Pls. I. and II., Nos. 8–24.

[2] F. Winter, *Arch. Anz.*, 1897, p. 127. Pernice and Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, p. 24.

FIG. 9.—MOTIVES DECORATING THE KRATERS. (Scale 1 : 2.)

Athena Νικηφόρος, set up in the Nikephorion which Attalos I founded to commemorate his victories. Von Fritze has, however, unhesitatingly rejected this hypothesis as applied to the coin type.[1]

There are fragments of at least two other examples of this motive, both corresponding with the krater under discussion in the quality of the glaze and the thickness of the walls. One of them, however, must belong to a different vessel, as there is a portion of the lip shewing above the head of the goddess, and it is narrower than on the krater under discussion. There is no difficulty in supposing that these kraters were made in pairs, as the practice has been traced by Pernice [2] to the end of the fifth century. The third example may belong to either of these two kraters; it suggests that the same motives were repeated in a symmetrical arrangement on each side of the krater. There is also an example with reddish glaze from one of the Acropolis trenches in 1924, and the example from a fluted vessel above referred to (p. 298 f.).

(Fig. 9, *b*.) This motive represents a naked young man with a drawn sword in his left hand, carrying off a maiden, naked but for some fluttering drapery. Scenes of rape are common on relief-ware, both in clay and metal, and it would be idle to attempt to give names to the pair. The youth is climbing a stony ascent, represented by some boulders on which his left foot is set; a similar representation of stony ground appears on a bronze situla in Berlin,[3] and on a clay model for a bronze relief in Munich.[4] It was a singularly happy device on bronze vessels, where the motive did not form an isolated picture rigidly framed within the outlines of the applied plaque, but merged gradually in the undecorated walls of the vessel. Such a pictorial representation of the background softened the transition from the decorated to the undecorated surface.

Another example of this motive was found in 1924 in the portico on the Acropolis. The glaze was better, and the outlines sharper and clearer, as if it has been made while the mould was newer.

(Fig. 9, *c*.) All that remains of this motive on the krater under consideration is the hind paw and tail of the lion. It is the commonest

[1] *Die Münzen von Pergamon*, p. 39.

[2] 58*th Winckelmanns Programm*, pp. 19–25.

[3] Schröder, 74*th Winckelmanns Programm*, Pl. I and II.

[4] Sieveking, *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, 1922, p. 117, Fig. 1. See also his remarks on the relation of the Hellenistic pictorial reliefs to the pictorial treatment of background on toreutic works.

among the motives, no less than eight examples being represented, some of them by very small fragments. A muscular, but very mild-looking, lion with his tail peaceably tucked between his legs is advancing to the right, with his head turned and represented full face. A diminutive Eros standing at his shoulder chucks him under the chin. The fact that the glaze on one example of this motive corresponds to that of the motives described below (p. 364) as belonging to 'the Maenad Krater' suggests that we should give a Bacchic interpretation to this motive, whether we conceive this particular example of it as actually belonging to 'the Maenad Krater' or to a companion vessel.[1]

II. *The Amazon Krater.* This krater is of slightly smaller dimensions; the walls are thinner, and the glaze more lustrous. The bowl is fluted and the moulding oval in profile. The rim is ornamented with small reliefs representing scenes from an Amazonomachy. Motive (*d*) occurs twice, motive (*e*) once. There is also a third example of motive (*d*), but the glaze is inferior, and the outlines blurred, as if it had been taken from a worn mould.

Such scenes were one of the commonest items in the repertoire of the Hellenistic artist, whether sculptor, metal-worker, or potter. Similar groupings occur over and over again, and were ultimately no doubt derived from famous pieces of sculpture, like the friezes of the temple of Apollo at Phigaleia, of Nike Apteros at Athens, and of the Mausoleum.[2] The group of a Greek pulling the head of an Amazon back by the hair is of frequent occurrence, so is the grouping of the combatants in sets of three similar to that in motive (*d*), but generally two figures are advancing, one to the attack and the other to the defence of the central figure on the ground. It is not quite clear whether the figure on the right of our motive is plunging his sword into the body of the seated Amazon, but he appears rather to be regarding her with an air of compassion. Moreover, the third figure, holding out a shield in protection over the Amazon, is certainly a Greek, and not an Amazon, so we should perhaps regard it as Achilles

[1] It is, of course, not certain that the kraters of this series were made in pairs, but an examination of the fragments suggests it.

[2] Courby has compared the motives on the bowls to these friezes. Brückner, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1888, p. 382, studied similar motives on tombstones and compared them to 'Megarian' bowls. The famous Siris bronzes closely resemble the style of the Mausoleum, and the combatants on the frieze of the Nereid monument at Xanthos borrow their attitudes and grouping from these friezes. In fact, they were part of the stock-in-trade of the Hellenistic craftsman, and might be applied to any decorative purpose.

mourning for Penthesilea, rather than as a scene of actual combat. A Greek supporting a falling Amazon, doubtless to be identified as Achilles and Penthesilea, occurs on a 'Megarian' bowl.[1]

III. *The Centaur Krater.* Of this krater we possess the moulded foot, and the lower part up to and including the dentil moulding, as well as two fragmentary examples of the motive (*f*), of which the more complete is illustrated in Fig. 9, *f*. These fragments are grouped together by reason of the peculiar mottled red appearance of the glaze. The motive represents a Centaur carrying off a struggling woman, whom we should perhaps regard as a Bacchante or a Nymph rather than as a Lapith. The pursuit of Maenads by Satyrs is a common subject on R. F. Attic vases, and the Centaurs are akin to the Satyrs. On certain coins from districts of Macedonia where the worship of Dionysos was prevalent, a Centaur carrying off a woman appears as a variant of the type of a Satyr carrying off a woman.[2] It was therefore natural that the Centaurs should be attracted into the Dionysiac circle, as, for instance, on the frieze of the temple of Apollo at Teos built by the architect Hermogenes in the second half of the fourth century. Pliny [3] mentions *Centauros Bacchasque caelati scyphi* by the silversmith Akragas, which in his day might be seen in the temple of Father Liber in Rhodes. It is not clear from this passage whether the Centaurs and Bacchantes were represented on the same cup, or even whether, if they were on different cups, the cups were regarded as counterparts; yet the passage is quoted as evidence for the Bacchic conception of the Centaurs. The truth is that we know absolutely nothing about Akragas except this notice in Pliny,[4] so that it seems idle to conjecture how he treated his Centaurs and Bacchantes. Pernice [5] thinks that we may gain a very fair idea of his work from the vessels from Pompei and Bernay decorated with Centaurs plagued by Erotes. The closest parallel to these is the pair of statues signed by Aristeas and Papias [6] in the time of Hadrian, for which Dickins [7] postulated a first-century original. The

[1] Benndorf, *Griech. und Sic. Vasenbilder*, Pl. LIX. 2*b*.

[2] J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 379.

[3] *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 154.

[4] Th. Reinach (*L'histoire par les Monnaies*, pp. 87 ff.) has even suggested that there was 'no sich person': that his name arose from a misunderstanding of the inscription on a coin used as an *emblema* for a bowl, which the *Cicerone* of the temple interpreted as the maker's signature, and Pliny uncritically accepted as such.

[5] *58th Winckelmanns Programm*, p. 21.

[6] *Cat. of the Museo Capitolino*, Salone, Nos. 2 and 4, pp. 274–5, and 277–8, and Pl. 64.

[7] *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 51.

vessels are at any rate late Hellenistic, and we may therefore see in them, or their originals, the work of a late Hellenistic silversmith, and in the prototype of our reliefs that of an earlier craftsman of the third or fourth century, who worked more under the inspiration of the old Classical types; but to go further and associate either with the name of Akragas seems to me rash. Another treatment of Bacchic Centaurs occurs on two bowls from Pergamon (*Beibl.* 42, 15; 43, 21), where they are represented playing the harp or double flute, and this type also was probably used by the Hellenistic silversmith.

IV. *The Maenad Krater.* Several fragments, including at least two examples each of the motives (*g*) and (*h*), may be grouped together on account of the character of the glaze, which is easily flaked off, and indeed has almost entirely disappeared. A portion of the lower part of the krater attached to one of the motives shews that the bowl was not fluted, and that the moulding was oval in profile.

The motives represent girls dancing. Both are clad in long sleeveless chitons of light, clinging material, which in (*h*) has a long overfall reaching almost to the knee. Both are executing the same step; they dance towards the left, with the left foot raised, and knee slightly bent; the right arm is dropped, the left raised above the head. The figure on (*g*) has a fairly voluminous scarf or veil—perhaps her mantle—which is passed over her right arm, and raised aloft in her left hand. In spite of the similarity of attitude, the figure on (*h*) seems to have been conceived without this accessory; there is at any rate no trace of drapery across her right arm.

The difference in the two motives is, however, more striking than their resemblance. The figure on (*f*) is dancing along with demure self-posession, with her head slightly dropped, as if she were minding her steps. Her movements are graceful and without exaggeration; her attire is in perfect order, only the light breeze of her decorous movements causing it to blow out behind in graceful folds, and swirl around her feet. The other figure, in marked contrast, is in a state of ecstatic excitement; her raised arm is flung outwards with an extravagant gesture, and her head thrown back in the well-known gesture of Bacchic enthusiasm. Her dress is in wild disorder, having become unpinned on one shoulder, and has slipped down so as to expose the breast.

This contrast of two types—or perhaps stages—of Bacchic inspiration

occurs not infrequently on the monuments, whether vase-paintings or reliefs. A beautiful silver pyxis from Thessaly [1] may be mentioned, however, as an example of Greek toreutic in the third or second century,[2] which stands in closer relation to our reliefs than either class of monuments above referred to. The Maenads are grouped in two pairs, of which one is in the early stages of orgiastic excitement, the other is already wrought up to a high pitch of ecstasy. The dress is somewhat similar to that on our motives, and there is the same touch of the bared breast.

It may be doubted, however, in the absence of any attributes, whether our dancers should be regarded as Bacchantes at all. It is, of course, a mistake to think that Dionysos was the only Greek god honoured with dances, or that all Greek dancing was orgiastic in character; the beautiful and demure little maidens—probably Charites—dancing around the triple Hekate of Alkamenes [3] at once occur to the mind to prove the contrary. In some ways our reliefs recall the dancing figures on a marble basis found on the Acropolis at Athens.[4] Here we see the same long, sleeveless chiton, with or without an overfall, the same scarf-like mantle, and the attitude of the third figure from the left recalls that of our reliefs. These dancers have been variously identified; as women who had performed cult-dances in honour of Athena, or Artemis [5] or as Muses.[6] The so-called Nereids on the Nereid monument at Xanthos raise their mantles above their heads in their right hands, while the folds are passed over the dropped left arm. The gesture is not dissimilar to that of our figure (*i*), except that the raised arm is straightened; and these figures have been interpreted as the personification of ships speeding over the ocean.[7] I do not think, however, that these considerations need cause us to hesitate in calling our dancers Bacchantes. The Bacchic dancers were by far the most famous in the Greek world, and not only were the female dancers often represented without any specific attribute,[8] but also types which

[1] *Ath. Mitt.*, 1912, Pls. IV. and V.; see also the description by Arvanitopoullos, *loc. cit.*, pp. 87–95.

[2] The grave from which the pyxis comes belongs to the middle of the second century (*Ath. Mitt.*, 1912, p. 75).

[3] *Jahresh.*, 1910, Pls. III. and IV.

[4] Illustrated in *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.*, xxxiv., 1862, Pl. IV.; S. Casson, *Cat. of the Acropolis Museum*, vol. ii. No. 1327, p. 228.

[5] Studniczka, *Kalamis*, p. 29.

[6] S. Casson, *op. cit.* (where, however, the absence of distinctive attributes is noted).

[7] C. Robert, *Archäologische Hermeneutik*, p. 80.

[8] Instances are too numerous to need mention.

FIG. 10.—MOTIVES DECORATING THE KRATERS AND OTHER VESSELS. (Scale 1 : 2.)

assuredly originated in some other context were absorbed into the Thiasos; for instance, the dancers wrapped in the folds of voluminous cloaks [1] have an unmistakable Bacchic significance on a bas-relief from the theatre of Dionysos in Athens,[2] on a tripod-stand in the Lateran,[3] and on an Attic vase painting of the fourth century.[4] The scarf dance, on the contrary, was appropriate to the Bacchic ritual; it occurs on many monuments and is mentioned by the late writer Niketas Eugenianos as characteristic.[5]

The Maenad dancing with a tambourine (Fig. 9, *i*) does not belong to the series of the kraters; the fragments, which represent two examples of the motive, were found some distance from the pit, and the fabric is quite different—a hard red paste and a red glaze.

V. *Other Figures.* For the sake of completeness, a list of the other motives represented among the fragments is added :—

(Fig. 10, *k*.) One example. Good lustrous black glaze. Dionysos sitting facing left : only his feet and right hand resting on his knee remain, but the identification is rendered certain by the vine running along the top of the motive,[6] and by the panther which is walking away to the left looking back at its master.

(Fig. 10, *l*.) Two examples : coarser matt-glazed ware. Seated female figure, to r. ; interpretation uncertain.

(Fig. 10, *m*.) One example : similar fabric. Zeus (?) seated on throne. The relief is considerably higher than on the other motives, and it probably does not belong to the series of kraters.

(Fig. 10, *n*.) One example : very coarse and clumsy. An Eros riding on a lion, towards whose tail he faces. His action is not clear; he appears to be playing on a lyre, or possibly shooting with bow and arrows.

(Fig. 10, *o*.) One example. Matt glaze. Two figures : the grouping, and the pose of the figure to the right, recall the motive on a bronze hydria

[1] The type was probably appropriate to the nymphs. Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinen Acropolismuseum in Athen*, No. 176, p. 83, and S. Casson, *op. cit.*, 1345, p. 248 ff., and literature mentioned there.

[2] Stais, *Marbres et Bronzes du Musée national*, Nos. 259–260, p. 53.

[3] Brunn—Bruckmann—Arndt, *Denk.*, No. 599.

[4] Furtwängler u. Reichhold, *Vasenmal.* Pl. 80, i.

[5] As on a silver vase from Vicarello, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1867, Pl. CCXXV. and text by Otto Jahn, pp. 78–82, with a list of monuments on which the figure occurs : he also quotes the passage from Niketas.

[6] A similar vine appears on a Campanian plaque, Rohden, *Die Antiken Terrakotten*, Pl. 37.

of the fourth century in the British Museum, representing Dionysos and Ariadne.[1] The action of the female figure is, however, quite different, and the object on which the male figure rests his hand appears to be a snake rather than a rock. There are no Bacchic symbols visible, unless we regard the snake as such, and it would be equally appropriate to Asklepios and Hygieia. The foliage above their heads recalls that on two red-glazed fragments from Athens, from *emblemata* representing Dionysos and the sleeping Ariadne.[2] The prototype of such pictorial background should, of course, be sought in the work of Hellenistic silversmiths rather than in such monuments as the Grimani reliefs for a fountain, in Vienna.

(Fig. 10, *p*.) One example. Matt glaze. A slim figure, with a mantle wrapped over the left arm, and a club—or sword?—swung high above the head. (Herakles and hydra?)

(Fig. 10, *t*.) Poseidon and Amymone. This fragment was found in 1924 in a trench adjoining the trenches in which the fragments belonging to the series of kraters were found in 1925; and in fabric and technique it resembles these fragments, though the curve of the profile seems to suggest that it belonged to a vessel of different shape. The motive, Poseidon and Amymone,[3] occurs on several 'Megarian' bowls of the earlier glazed series (Courby's Class A)[4] and on a 'Megarian' bowl from Pergamon;[5] it is the only mythological motive from the earlier series which appears on the Pergamene bowls;[6] it also appears on the later Pergamene ware with appliqué reliefs.[7]

The two remaining motives (Fig. 10, *q* and Fig. 10, *r*) certainly do not belong to the series of kraters :—

[1] *B.M. Cat.*, No. 312, *Select Bronzes*, Pl. XXXV.

[2] Published by Pagenstecher, *Jahrb.*, 1912, p. 167, Fig. 17, and *Rom. Mitt.*, 1911, Pl. XI. 2.

[3] See Overbeck, *Künstmythologie*[4], 'Poseidon.'

[4] The motive, or the figures isolated, occurs on several bowls, *e.g.* Athens, Nat. Mus. 2100, from Megara, good black glaze; *ibid.*, 2117, from Epidauros Limera, coarse ware; *B.M. Vases* IV. G101, provenance uncertain, '*coarse black ware*,' and a situla from Olbia, *Rev. Arch.*, 1904, i. p. 8. Also on terracotta incense altars, *Rev. Arch.*, 1907, ii. p. 250, Fig. 3.

[5] Conze, *Die Kleinfunde aus Pergamon*, p. 20, where, however, the motive is misinterpreted as Iphigeneia and a sacrificing priest.

[6] With the possible exception of scenes from an Amazonomachy, which appear to me to be represented on the fragments illustrated, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1907, p. 408, Fig. 14, though Hepding there suggests Perseus slaying Medusa.

[7] *Pergamon*, i. 2; *Beibl.* 44, 1.

(Fig. 10, *q*.) This motive, representing Artemis with a fawn skin and hunting boots, is in the museum,[1] and, except the example of the motive (*a*) mentioned above (p. 298 f.), it is the only example from Sparta of an appliqué relief on a vessel with fluting and painted-and-incised decoration. It does not belong to the series of kraters.

(Fig. 10, *r*.) Head of a Satyr. Possibly from the hydria described below (V). Horizontal handles emerging from Satyr heads were a favourite form with the Neo-Attic sculptors in the first century.

V.—HOLLOW RELIEFS.

There are several fragments in an unusual technique. The figures are in high relief and are hollow. Several of these fragments have been put together to form the shoulder—apparently of a hydria—illustrated on Fig. 10, *s*. It represents a winged Nike with her right hand raised, apparently to crown the helmeted warrior whose head is seen just beyond her hand. The crown is rendered in a very summary manner by incisions. The other fragments include the body of a youth, a head of Herakles, the left arm and foot of a draped figure, and part of a nude torso, as well as further, but still unintelligible, portions of the incised inscription.[2] It is greatly to be hoped that when the whole deposit has been dug, we shall be able to reconstruct this interesting and beautiful specimen of Greek relief-ware.

MARGARET B. HOBLING.

NOTE.

The following table shews the numbers, in the Sparta Museum Inventory, of the fragments illustrated on Figs. 2, 4, 5 which were found in the excavations of 1906—1910 :—

Mus. No.	Illustration-reference.
2407.	Fig. 4, *r*.
2465.	Fig. 2, *a–h*, *m*, *r–z*.
2480.	Fig. 2, *i*, *p*.
2560.	Fig. 5, *d*.

[1] Found in 1908 in a trial pit (' E ' in **O 12**, General Plan).

[2] For the form 'Ασαναίαι cf. the votive stele published above, p. 233, No. 25.

Mus. No.	Illustration-reference.
2580.	Fig. 4, *v*.
2582.	Figs. 2, *n*; 4, *i*.
2583.	Figs. 2, *o*; 4, *n*; 5, *b*.
2585.	Fig. 4, *a*.
2586.	Fig. 2, *k*.
2589.	Fig. 4, *e*.
2805.	Fig. 5, *h*.

A. M. W.

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

THE Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the School was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Tuesday, October 28th, 1924, the PROVOST OF ETON in the Chair.

The Honorary Treasurer, Mr. V. W. YORKE, presented the following report on behalf of the Committee for the Session 1923–1924.

THE Managing Committee beg leave to present the following Report on the activities of the School for the session 1923–1924.

Although the appeal for funds towards an excavation at Sparta did not produce as good a result as had been hoped, the Committee decided to authorise the Director to begin excavations on a small scale.

This policy has fortunately been fully justified by the discoveries made, and the prospects for a second campaign, if possible on a more extensive scale, are most promising.

A brief illustrated Report is being circulated to all subscribers.

Director.—The Director left England immediately after the Annual Meeting and reached Athens on November 7th *en route* spending a few hours with Dr. Ashby at the School at Rome. He was occupied with administrative duties and other work in Athens until late in February, when he paid a hasty visit to Sparta to secure quarters for the forthcoming excavations, and make other arrangements in regard to them. He left Athens for Sparta on March 25th, and with the help of Messrs. Cuttle and Buchanan supervised the packing and transport of the bulky excavation-kit, stores, etc., left at Mycenae, which duly reached Sparta, and the work on the site began on March 31st. On April 14th he returned to Athens to attend the Byron centenary celebrations, and laid a wreath on behalf of the School on the Byron monument in Athens, proceeding later to Missolonghi for the further ceremonies there, and returned to Sparta from Corinth on April 21st. Early in May he was recalled to Athens by the tragic death of Mr. S. S. Clarke, and after a short stay

resumed the excavation at Sparta and carried it through to its termination, returning to Athens on June 3rd.

During the winter the Director gave a course of informal demonstration-lectures in the Epigraphical Museum, paying especial attention to Attic public documents of the fifth century; these were attended by most of the members of the British and American Schools. He also found time to complete for publication (in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*) his overdue Report on his excavations at the Roman Fort of Ilkley in 1919–21 (which he had laid aside the previous session in order to give his whole time to duties in the Hostel and Library). As this Report will run to some 130 printed pages, it is not surprising that the Director found little time for other research; he managed, however, to make a preliminary examination of the collection of travel note-books of Sir W. Gell, secured by the kindness of Dr. T. Ashby for the Library of the School.

An exceptional amount of his time was taken up in attending to matters concerning the property of the School, of which details appear below; and a further interruption occurred in January, when the roof of his house caught fire, owing to defective construction of the chimney of his study. Though the damage was slight the ensuing repairs and disorganisation were most disturbing.

In June and July, though hampered by poor health, he found time to make some preliminary studies of the results of the Sparta excavations and to prepare a short Report for circulation, to look after the Library in the absence of Mr. Heurtley, to examine in English for the Greek Ministry of National Economy, to pay (in mid-July) a short visit to Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos, to collect reports and oral information for 'Archaeology in Greece' for the *Hellenic Journal*, and for a similar summary for *The Year's Work*, and to make final arrangements for the rebuilding of the roof of his house, and its repainting and decoration, inside and out. On August 7th he finally left Athens for England.

Assistant-Director.—Mr. W. A. Heurtley reached Athens on October 31st, via Leipzig, Prague and Belgrade, where he studied the early civilisation of Central and South-eastern Europe. In the second half of December he paid a preliminary visit to the mounds which he had selected for excavation in the Vardar valley, and thence crossed Chalkidike to visit the monasteries of Mount Athos. After three months in Athens he paid a visit to Skyros, to report on the condition of the work on Rupert Brooke's grave, and spent some time exploring the N.E. coast of Euboea and examining mounds at Oreus; thence he went to Volo, and after visiting Dhimini and Zerelia returned to Athens, just before the Director left for Sparta. He joined the party which went to Missolonghi for the Byron celebrations in April, and in May made a rapid trip to Sparta, via Leonidhi, and again visited Skyros to see to the completion of the grave-monument.

On June 7th he left for Salonika, and began the excavations in the Vardar valley described below; an attack of malaria having cut short his excavations, after one mound had been thoroughly explored, he stayed in Salonika to study the finds, and returned to Athens on July 17th.

During his time in Athens, in addition to his work in the Library and Hostel, he took in hand the arrangement of the large collection of specimen sherds and other antiquities in the Hostel museum, with excellent results, and supervised the domestic improvements described below.

Students.—The number of students admitted during the session was fourteen, which is unquestionably a 'record' in the history of the School, and a most gratifying start for the new Director.

The women students numbered six. Miss W. Lamb, who came for the second half of April and May, to help at the excavations at Sparta; Miss M. B. Hobling, who was present at Sparta throughout the whole of the excavations, taking charge of the work on the Sanctuary-site on the Acropolis: during the winter, in addition to making general topographical and archaeological studies, she had specialised on later Greek pottery decorated with reliefs, which she studied in Athens and various provincial museums, and in addition travelled in Northern Greece, the Peloponnese and Crete. Miss U. D. Hunt, lecturer at Bedford College for Women, travelled extensively and assisted at the excavations, both in keeping the inventory of the inscriptions and in cleaning and sorting various small finds. Miss E. Tankard, a graduate of Liverpool University, who came out with a grant from the School funds, as well as one from the Holt Education Trust, rendered most useful help at Sparta, where she made drawings of the most important bronzes and other finds. During the spring she had travelled in Thessaly and Northern Greece, and after returning from Sparta via Olympia and the Argolid, made a short tour in Crete before she left for England. Whilst at Athens she gave her attention to the study of archaic art.

Two foreign women students, Miss C. Brönsted and Miss A. Wentzel, both from Copenhagen, spent some four months in Greece and made good use of, and much appreciated, their privileges as students of the School. In addition to travelling widely on the Greek mainland, and visiting Delos and Crete, the former gave special attention to Corinthian pottery, notably that in Athens and Thebes, while Miss Wentzel specialised in epigraphy, with particular attention to documents from Epidauros.

Of the men students, Mr. S. S. Clarke, who returned at the end of December to continue his topographical studies in Epirus and Albania, made two journeys in that region, and shorter trips in the Peloponnese and Northern Greece. His untimely death in a sailing accident on May 2nd, off Salamis, has deprived the

School of a student of quite outstanding ability and great personal charm, and is a sad loss to learning.

Of the new students, Mr. W. B. C. Buchanan, holder of the Blackie Scholarship in Edinburgh University, spent seven months in Greek lands. In addition to his study of Modern Greek required by the terms of his Scholarship, Mr. Buchanan visited Chalkidike and Mount Athos, Epirus, Thessaly, a few sites in Northern Greece and the Peloponnese, and Constantinople. He was present throughout the excavations at Sparta, where he assisted the Director in taking charge of the work at the theatre and kept the inventory of marbles and coins from that site. Afterwards he went (via Constantinople) to Macedonia to assist Mr. Heurtley in his excavation of a prehistoric mound in the Vardar valley. Whilst in Athens he studied archaic art with especial reference to carved ivories.

Mr. C. W. M. Cox (Balliol College, Oxford) travelled widely, especially in Northern Greece, and while in Athens read systematically with a view to his projected journey in Central Asia Minor with Professor Calder, whom he joined early in May in Constantinople. They thence proceeded to Angora, and from there by road to Konia. After making a round south and west of Konia, through part of the Isaurian hill-country and back by Lake Beyshehr, they spent a month travelling in north and central Phrygia. Their finds of inscriptions were numerous and interesting, notably at Alisa in Isauria, in the deserted quarters of Kutaya, and at Ishekli (Eumeneia). Conditions of travel proved unexpectedly favourable.

Mr. W. L. Cuttle (Emmanuel College, Cambridge), holder of the Craven Studentship, reached Athens via Rome, where he spent several days. He chose as his subject early Spartan art, with special reference to the beginnings of Geometric pottery at Sparta. In addition to studying this subject in Athens during the winter, he travelled in the Peloponnese, accompanying the Director to Sparta in February. After visiting various other sites, he made a journey across Euboea and to Skyros with Mr. Heurtley before proceeding to Sparta, where he was present throughout the whole campaign; besides taking command during the Director's enforced absence, Mr. Cuttle was in charge of the excavation of the domestic region explored north of the Acropolis, and kept the inventory of stamped bricks and tiles found on all the sites. He returned to England in the middle of June.

Mr. C. Hignett (Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford) stayed in Greece from late November to early April, and devoted his time partly to travel, with a view to obtaining an adequate background for his study and teaching of Greek History, and partly to studying the rudiments of Greek Archaeology, particularly sculpture and epigraphy; he visited the principal sites and museums on the Greek mainland, and also Crete and Constantinople.

Mr. H. H. Keen (Balliol College, Oxford), who was reading for the University Diploma in classical Archaeology, stayed in Greece from January 13th to April 20th, and studied in particular prehistoric archaeology, and the pottery of the Geometric and Orientalising periods, as well as white Attic lekythoi. He travelled extensively also, visiting practically all the ancient sites in Attica, the Argolid, Delphi, Thebes, Chaeronea, Olympia, Sparta and Crete.

Mr. M. D. C. Tait (Balliol College, Oxford), after a stay in Rome, spent two months in Greek lands and devoted his attention primarily to travel, with a view to gaining a general knowledge of Greek topography to strengthen his qualifications as a teacher of the Classics. He visited many of the same sites as Mr. Keen.

Professor W. H. Alexander, of the University of Alberta, Canada, was also admitted as a student and stayed some six weeks in all; in addition to studying in Athens he travelled to Crete, the Northern Peloponnese and Delphi.

It is a matter for no small satisfaction that of the above-named students at least three will be resident at Athens in the coming session, Miss Hobling having been appointed to the 'Mary Ewart' travelling Scholarship, Mr. Cox to the Craven Fellowship, and Mr. Cuttle to the School Studentship, as the Cambridge nominee for this session.

Visitors.—The Easter Vacation brought numerous visitors from England—more, in fact, than had visited the School since before the war. We were glad to welcome the Hon. Treasurer, who accompanied by his son, Mr. G. J. Yorke, of Trinity College, Cambridge, stayed in the Hostel and paid a visit to the excavations at Sparta. Accommodation in the Hostel, while most of the students were at Sparta, was also provided for Mr. R. C. Trevelyan, Messrs. R. Gardner and L. H. Greenwood, Fellows of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Mr. H. Quinnell, of Balliol, as well as for Miss M. V. Clarke and Miss Macaulay, of Somerville College, Oxford, and Mrs. Walden, who also travelled in Thessaly and the Peloponnese. Other visitors who made use of the Library included Mr. C. F. Taylor, of Clifton College, Captain Roger Chance, Professor Angus, of St. Andrew's College, Sydney, Mr. R. S. Brinton, and Messrs. H. C. Gaunt and E. Hamer of King's College, Cambridge.

Mr. William Miller, Associate of the School, spent the winter and much of the summer in Athens, making an exhaustive study of the diaries and correspondence of George Finlay; and for a few days in the height of summer enjoyed the privilege of accommodation in the Hostel. Others who also stayed at the Hostel were Messrs. Austen Harrison, R. W. Hutchinson (who assisted at Mr. Heurtley's excavation) and J. M. Dawkins.

Some members of the mission from England, on the occasion of the Byron

celebrations, also found time to call at the School, namely, Lord Ernle, Viscount and Viscountess Burnham, Mr. John Drinkwater and Mr. Harold Spender.

The Hostel.—One of the two large rooms over the Library has been furnished as a sitting-room for the Assistant-Director and Mrs. Heurtley, under whose auspices the housekeeping and administration have given universal satisfaction. Two new enamelled baths and a new geyser have been installed, and new covers have been made for the chairs in the common-room. Some further white-washing and repairs to plaster upstairs will have been completed before next session. Mention must also be made of the entire re-arrangement and systematic cataloguing of the extensive collection of pottery in the Hostel, which now makes a most valuable reference-museum, especially of prehistoric fragments, and will prove of the utmost value to students. Mr. Heurtley and the students who helped him in this laborious task deserve the warmest commendation.

The Director's House.—A systematic examination of the structure of the house, undertaken at the Director's request by Mr. P. de Jong, showed at once that the roof was in a very dangerous condition, owing to advanced dry rot in many of the principal beams and joists. Owing, moreover, to the fundamentally unsound method of its original construction, no replacement of the decayed elements was found possible, and the Committee, on receiving the report of its condition, agreed to the proposal of Mr. de Jong, endorsed by Mr. W. S. Thompson, architect to the Gennadeion, that the existing roof should be stripped and replaced with a flat terrace-roof in concrete. This was finally put in hand before the Director left for England, and it is hoped that the house will be ready again for occupation by the beginning of next session. These repairs are to be followed by complete overhauling of the outside plaster and repainting of all woodwork within and without. The latter is indeed long overdue, and its neglect has proved a false economy, as the woodwork in places is getting into a bad condition for lack of paint.

Another revelation of the need for repairs of the house was afforded by the fire, already mentioned, due to the proximity of the study flue to the roof and ceiling timbers. Sparks had passed through a hole in the flue and lodged on the adjacent joist, which after long smouldering, unobserved, burst into flame on January 13th. The fire was quickly subdued, but not before the local fire-brigade, promptly on the scene, had flooded the room with water, and amateur efforts (thanks to a mason kindly lent by the Gennadeion architect) finally cut out the still burning joist after the brigade had gone. The loss, covered by insurance, was confined to the structure, and a satisfactory temporary repair was carried out as quickly as the blizzard, following two days later, permitted.

Another long-due improvement was also carried out, namely, the laying of a new water-pipe to bring water from the aqueduct to the School premises,

to replace the old one, which had in many places rusted through and was much choked up; new pipes were also laid from this pipe to the Director's house; and, in view of a threatened shortage of water due to the serious over-population of Athens, a new concrete-lined storage-tank was designed and carried out by Mr. W. S. Thompson, in the upper corner of the new plot acquired across the road.

The progress of the Gennadeion, and the enclosure of its *temenos* with a massive stone wall gave an opportunity of which the Committee gladly made use, for the new plot to be enclosed in the same wall, Mr. Thompson charging only for labour and raw material. He deserves their warmest thanks for thus enabling them to enclose and thereby improve their property at the smallest possible expense. At the same time the School has benefited, at a small outlay, by the draining and proper grading and surfacing of the upper road, along which a row of pepper-trees has now been planted. Though the property has thus been walled round, the final formalities of taking possession and of partition of the new plot with the American School were unexpectedly delayed, and had not been carried out when the Director left for England.

The Garden.—There is little to report, beyond the fact that the exceptional frosts in January did serious damage to some of the tenderer trees, the lemons suffering in particular and the orange crop being very poor. The tennis-court is now well looked after by an arrangement with the American School's gardener, but few of the students used it this season.

Open Meeting.—At an open meeting held on March 17th in the Penrose Library, Sir Arthur Evans, who was staying in Athens on his way to Crete, described his recent discoveries at Knossos, and in particular the latest finds of frescoes, of which he exhibited coloured drawings and reconstructions by M. E. Gilliéron *fils*. There was a large, and most appreciative audience, more, in fact, than could adequately be accommodated in the Library.

School Architect.—Mr. Piet de Jong, formerly a student of the British School at Rome, and now residing in Athens, has been officially appointed Architect to the School, and it is hoped that for many years to come the School will continue to have the benefit of his gifted services for its excavations. The merit of Mr. de Jong's work at Mycenae and at Knossos is already well known, and his help at Sparta, in planning the site of the theatre, proved invaluable.

Director's Secretary. — The urgent problem of securing competent secretarial assistance for the Director in dealing with routine correspondence and reports has been happily solved by the appointment of Miss F. Chapman, who has resided for some years in Athens. Besides helping the Director, Miss Chapman has done most useful work in the Library for Mr. Heurtley, in connection with cataloguing and in extending and checking the topographical index.

The Excavations: Sparta. — The circulation of the brief illustrated Report makes it unnecessary to repeat here the details of the work and the important discoveries made. They have fully justified the choice of the Committee in deciding to resume work at Sparta, and the prospects for a second campaign, both at the theatre and on the Acropolis, if possible on a more extensive scale than this year, are most promising. That the Director will again have the services of Mr. de Jong as architect, and of Miss Hobling and Mr. Cuttle as assistants in the excavation, is most gratifying.

Macedonia.—Mr. W. A. Heurtley, Assistant-Director, undertook a systematic examination of the prehistoric 'Toumba' in the Vardar valley a few miles south of Karasouli; operations, delayed at the start, by the difficulty of finding workmen, lasted from June 17th to 29th. On this mound, which is the most northerly of those (in Greece) along the E. bank of the Vardar, the successive strata proved to be: (1) on top, Hellenic period, with stone foundation-walls built on the debris of (2) a thick burnt layer, which yielded *inter alia* part of a large sub-Mycenaean bowl; (3) below this, a stratum *ca.* 2·50 m. thick, in which two settlements were recognised. In the upper settlement were found stone foundations resting on clay floors, and traces of burnt beams, accompanied by various finds, including a bronze fibula, several bone pins, a schist mould, and much L.H. III. pottery (fragments). In the lower, clay floors and the foundations of an apsidal house, with pithoi *in situ*. The pottery of this lower settlement is also L.H. III., but of an earlier type, and with it were two sherds possibly L.H. II. Nearly all seem to be of local fabric; the coarse pottery of this level included numerous fragments of bowls with the typical Macedonian triangular handle, and some incised ware. From this settlement came also a bronze spearhead.

Separated from this by an interval of about half a metre, containing very few sherds, is the lowest stratum (4) which is about 1·50 m. thick and rests on virgin soil. It is characterised by very dark earth and quite distinctive pottery, in which no Mycenaean is found, the typical ware being a fine highly-polished black (often firing to red), with white matt-painted ornament (parallel vertical lines or broad flowing bands and loops). Not many shapes can be identified, but large high bowls with strap-handles, and small cups with curving profile and flat bases seem typical. This ware continues throughout the stratum, uninterrupted. Other classes represented in this level, but in thin layers only, are a rather coarse but well-polished grey ware (mostly wide bowls with incurving rims, painted with dull white lines), and fine, but unpolished and roughly-incised red ware (whose shapes resemble those of 'Thessalian A 1'); the presence of the latter (not directly on virgin soil), the resemblance of the black ware (which begins earlier than the red) to 'Thessalian Γ 1 α 1,' the presence of sherds similar to other Thessalian styles (of classes 'A' and 'Γ'), also the discovery of a few pieces of the 'Dikili-tash' ware, with graphite technique, and of typical Macedonian incised and white-filled, and, moreover, of the head of a clay

figurine of early Thessalian type, raise many interesting problems, which it is hoped that the excavation of the big mound at Vardarovči next year will help to solve.

Publications.—Good progress has been made with the printing of Mr. Wace's exhaustive Report on his important discoveries at Mycenae, which is to appear as Vol. XXV. of the *Annual*, and as the remainder of the Palaikastro finds will appear in the *Supplement*, to be published in 1925, this brings to the front again the question of a definite publication of the results of the Sparta excavations of 1906–10. The desirability of combining with this publication that of the results of the new campaigns is self-evident, but a start might be made with advantage with a separate volume on the Orthia Sanctuary, pending the preparation of one or more subsequent volumes or instalments dealing with other regions of the site, when they have been fully explored.

The Library.—The past session has been one of uneventful progress. No extensive rearrangement was found possible, but useful work was done in many directions by the Librarian, notably in bringing up to date the topographical index, of which it is impossible to exaggerate the usefulness, and in checking, arranging and, where needed, mounting on linen the map-collection. Fewer volumes were bound than in the previous session, from which practically no arrears of binding had been left over.

The total accessions numbered nearly 350 volumes, of which 90 were pamphlets and 51 bound volumes of periodicals. The most important include a group of travel note-books and sketches of Sir William Gell (secured through the promptness of Dr. Thomas Ashby), which contain, in one volume, most of the original notes of his itineraries in Attica and Northern Greece, and in another apparently unpublished notes and sketches from a short tour in Western Asia Minor. A sketch-book of Keppel Craven was also secured through the same channel. Of recent publications we may note the album of plates, from the recent photographs of Professor Hamann of Marburg, for the new publication of the Olympia sculptures, Vols. II. and III. of the Austrian *Forschungen in Ephesos*, the new edition, complete, of Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, and Toebelmann's *Roemische Gebaelke*.

Among the numerous and valuable gifts received, our gratitude is especially due to Messrs. Macmillan for Sir J. G. Frazer's *Folklore in the Old Testament*, for the new edition of Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, and for the one-volume edition of the *Golden Bough*; to the Cambridge University Press for Vol. I. of the *Catalogue of the McClean Coin Collection*; to Dr. D. G. Hogarth for Rostowzew's *Iranians and Greeks in S. Russia*; to Dr. W. Miller for Schlumberger's *L'Epopée Byzantine* (3 vols.), and *Sigillographie*; to Lady Sandys for an edition of Pindar with MSS. notes by the late Sir John Sandys; to Miss Hutton for five volumes

on Greek Terra-cottas, and for Ihne's *History of Rome;* to Mr. Shirley Atchley for a large collection of British and foreign illustrated catalogues of Greek Coin sales; and to Miss J. M. Pybus for Dr. Hoppin's *Handbook of Attic B. F. Vases.* Besides the above works, we are indebted to the following bodies for gifts of books: The Trustees of the British Museum, the Hellenic Society, the Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Government of India, La Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie, the American Academy in Rome, L'Académie Roumaine and the publishers of Κυπριακα Χρονικα. The following authors have also presented copies of their works: Professors A. Andreadis, L. Curtius, A. Mahr, E. A. Sonnenschein, M. Tierney, Messrs. K. Amantos, A. Boethius, E. Buschor, S. Casson, M. Deffner, R. Ganszyniec, J. P. Harland, D. G. Kambouroglou, E. Kjellberg, P. M. Kontogiannis, J. Sundwall, R. C. Trevelyan, M. Volonakis, R. J. Walker, O. Walter, H. S. Washington, and the Director.

Miscellaneous gifts of books, pamphlets and maps are thankfully acknowledged from Messrs. F. E. Adcock, Shirley Atchley, S. Casson, B. L. Hallward, Mrs. Hasluck, Messrs. W. A. Heurtley, D. G. Hogarth, W. Miller, Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Milne, Mr. D. Petrocochino, Mme. A. I. Svoronos, Messrs. A. J. B. Wace, F. B. Welch, and V. W. Yorke. To Mr. S. Casson we are indebted for the gift of five engravings of Greece from drawings by W. Haygarth.

Our exchanges with other current periodicals, which now number upwards of seventy, are all running smoothly, and a few of our *lacunae* have been filled up, but other—not numerous—gaps remain, in one case owing to the necessary volumes being out of print. Exchanges have been started with the *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (including many back volumes), and the *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* at Sofia (as from 1911).

Library Expenses.—Owing to the increased cost of upkeep, and the high—and often exorbitant—cost of German books, it is clear that, if it is not to fall hopelessly behindhand as regards English publications, the Library cannot subsist satisfactorily on an income of less than £100 per annum, and then only if friends of the School at home are even more generous than at present in their donations to it of important publications. It must be remembered that it obtains no works for review.

The Byron Centenary.—The participation of the School in these celebrations, which occupied most of the week ending April 19th, was a matter of general satisfaction. Mr. V. W. Yorke, as representing the Committee, and the Director, who returned expressly from Sparta, were present at the principal functions in Athens, as well as at the actual commemorative addresses and services at Missolonghi on the anniversary of Byron's death. On the Thursday, the Director on behalf of the School laid a laurel wreath at the base

of the Byron monument in the Zappeion garden. In the exhibition of Byron relics in the Museum of the Historical Society, the autograph letter of the poet lent by the British School formed one of the most attractive exhibits.

The award of the Gold Cross of the Order of the Redeemer on this occasion to Mr. Yorke and to the Director, and of the Silver Cross to the Assistant-Director, is a gratifying token of the Greek Government's appreciation of the part taken by the School in these proceedings, which were marked throughout by many striking manifestations of Anglo-Hellenic friendship and regard.

Acknowledgments. — The continued cordiality and courtesy of all the officials of the Greek Archaeological Service, in whose positions there has been no change since the previous Report, made easy the path of the new Director and enhance the pleasure of all who work in the Museums under their charge. The Director had also the privilege of handing to Dr. K. Kourouniotis, Director of the National Museum, his Diploma of Honorary Membership of the Hellenic Society.

With our friends and neighbours of the American School our entente continues to flourish. Dr. Hill's administrative experience has always been at the disposal of Mr. Woodward, and it is a pleasure to record the ready help given by Mr. W. S. Thompson, architect to the Gennadeion, in our problems of building and water-supply. Dr. Blegen's lectures on prehistoric pottery in the Athens and Corinth Museums have proved another bond of union between students of the two Schools. Dr. Buschor, Director of the German School, has again given us the benefit of his learning in two lectures on white Attic lekythoi and one on his newest studies in the early art and architecture of the Acropolis. A good friend of the British School is unfortunately leaving Athens in the person of M. L. Renaudin, the Secretary of the French School.

At the British Legation, after a long interregnum filled by Mr. C. H. Bentinck, as Chargé d'Affaires, the new Minister, Sir J. Milne Cheetham, took up his duties in the spring. As he was actually a student of the School for a short period before entering the Diplomatic Service there is an additional reason for welcoming his appointment. In acknowledging the many kindnesses rendered by the staff of H.M. Legation, we would especially wish to record our sympathy with Mr. Shirley Atchley on the death of his son-in-law, Mr. Michael Melas. The consular officers, both in Athens and the Provinces, have all been more than willing to help members of the School in various ways, and Mr. F. B. Welch has again earned the gratitude of all; and it is with no small satisfaction that we learn that an old friend of the School, Mr. J. M. Dawkins, on leaving Canea has been posted to Constantinople.

Finance.—The Revenue Account for the year shows a debit balance of £45 1*s.* 7*d.* as compared with a credit balance of £317 8*s.* 8*d.* for the preceding

year. This result is arrived at after taking credit for the whole of the special donations to the Sparta Fund £1,174, and only charging the actual expenditure on the Sparta Excavations £620, the account having benefited thereby to the extent of the difference, namely £554. The net deficiency on Revenue Account is therefore just £600. The chief reason for this extremely unsatisfactory result is the heavy expenditure on Renewals and Repairs to the Director's House, the necessity for which is explained earlier in the Report. Unfortunately there will be a charge of about the same amount in the Accounts of the current year, as a further expenditure of at least £500 will be required to complete the work.

Capital Account also shows a heavy deficiency, incurred during the year, of £395, which has been occasioned by large expenditure on various improvements to the School's property also mentioned earlier in the Report.

The financial position of the School will thus be seen to be most unsatisfactory and such as to cause grave anxiety for the future. Though subscriptions have been maintained at the figure of the previous year, they are substantially lower than they were in 1913, while expenses are of necessity very much higher than then. It is indeed difficult to see how the School will be able to continue to carry on the useful work which it is doing for even another year without making inroads on its invested Funds. It will be deplorable if the sacrifice of the modest savings of many years becomes necessary, and all friends of the School are urged to rally to its support both by increasing if possible their subscriptions, and by inducing others to subscribe.

The PROVOST OF ETON then moved the adoption of the Annual Report which was seconded by Mr. J. Penoyre and having been put to the meeting was carried unanimously.

SIR CHARLES WALSTON moved the following motion, which was seconded by Mr. D. ROBERTSON and carried unanimously :—

"That SIR ARTHUR EVANS, SIR CECIL HARCOURT-SMITH and DR. D. G. HOGARTH be re-elected members of the Managing Committee, that MR. V. W. YORKE be re-elected Hon. Treasurer and that MR. M. S. THOMPSON be re-elected Secretary.

MR. A. M. WOODWARD, the Director, then gave an account, illustrated by lantern slides, of the excavations of the School at Sparta.

A vote of thanks to the PROVOST OF ETON was moved by Mr. V. W. YORKE and carried with applause.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1923–1924.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE.

3RD OCTOBER, 1923, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1924.

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received during the year	763	4	0
Subscriptions received for the year 1922–1923	12	5	0
Government Grant	500	0	0
Grant by the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851	200	0	0
Interest on Investments to July 5th, 1924	210	0	0
Interest on Deposit to June 30th, 1924	38	3	8
Sale of Annuals (Vols. I–XXIV)	230	9	2
Rents from Hostel	141	2	6
Special Donations for Excavations at Sparta	1,174	17	1
Balance being Excess of Expenditure over Receipts	45	1	7
	£3,315	3	0

	£	s.	d.
House Maintenance (as provided from London to August 31st, 1924)	162	1	3
Hostel Maintenance (as provided from London to August 31st, 1924)	306	16	6
Salary—Director	500	0	0
Salary—Assistant Director	200	0	0
Salary—Architect	100	0	0
Salary—Secretary to June 30th, 1924	40	0	0
Publication of *Annual*	298	19	8
Rent	10	0	0
Printing, Postage, etc.	50	11	3
Audit Fee	5	5	0
Expenditure on Excavations:			
Mycenae £236 6 5			
Sparta 620 15 4			
	857	1	9
Studentship (Miss Hobling)	100	0	0
Grant (Miss Tankard)	70	0	0
Secretarial Assistance (Athens)	43	16	0
Sundry Expenses	30	11	7
Renewals and Repairs to Director's House on account	520	0	0
Purchase of Camera	20	0	0
	£3,315	3	0

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

3RD OCTOBER, 1923, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1924.

	£	s.	d.
Donations as per List	30	5	0
Entrance Fees	35	14	0
Balance being Excess of Expenditure over Receipts	395	7	8
	£461	6	8

	£	s.	d.
Library	111	3	8
Hostel Furniture	39	0	0
Building of Wall on adjoining property	193	6	0
Improvements to Water Supply	117	17	0
	£461	6	8

BALANCE ACCOUNT—2ND OCTOBER, 1924.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions paid in advance		11	11	0			
Anniversary Fund		289	0	6			
The Gustav Sachs Trust Fund (Income)		46	18	6			
Macedonian Exploration Fund		188	11	4			
Fund for the support of Anna Sokrides		78	10	0			
Balance, representing the assets of the School other than land, buildings and library as per last account	5,888 7 4						
Less Balance of Revenue Account for the year £45 1 7							
Balance of Capital Account for the year £395 7 8							
	440 9 3						
	5,447	18	1				
	£6,062	9	5		£6,062	9	5

	£	s.	d.
Investments—			
£2,000 India 3% Stock at par £3,000 5% War Stock at 95	4,850	0	0
Cash at Bank— £ s. d.			
Current Account 131 6 3			
Deposit Account 1,000 0 0			
	1,131	6	3
Sundry Debtors	81	3	2

THE GUSTAV SACHS TRUST FUND.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT.

3RD OCTOBER, 1923, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1924.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account	21	5	3	Cost of Purchase of War Loan	1	7	3
Interest from Investments	27	0	6	Balance	46	18	6
	£48	5	9		£48	5	9

THE MACEDONIAN EXPLORATION FUND.

3RD OCTOBER, 1923, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1924.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account	238	11	4	Grant to Mr. W. A. Heurtley	50	0	0
				Balance	188	11	4
	£238	11	4		£238	11	4

Examined and found correct,

W. CRANSTOUN TODD,

3, Cannon Street, London, E.C. 4.

Chartered Accountant.

DONATIONS—1923–1924.

	£	s.	d.
Milne, G. Grinnell	1	1	0
Pease, Lt.-Col.	1	1	0
Thompson, M. S.	20	0	0
Witt, Miss E. M.	3	3	0
Queen's College, Oxford	5	0	0
	£30	5	0

SPARTA EXCAVATION FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Abercromby, Lord	50	0	0
Adcock, F. E.	10	0	0
Anonymous	1	0	0
Antonius, G.	2	2	0
Armstrong College	5	5	0
Bailey, J.	3	0	0
Balliol College	10	0	0
Barlow, Miss A. E.	2	0	0
Barlow, Sir T.	5	0	0
Bell, E.	1	1	0
Benecke, P. V. M.	10	0	0
Benton, Miss S.	2	0	0
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C.	10	0	0
Brasenose College	10	0	0
Brooke, Mrs. J. R.	2	2	0
Brooks, E. W.	1	0	0
Brown, Prof. G. Baldwin	2	0	0
Brown, J.	25	0	0
Carthew, Miss A. E.	3	3	0
Chalmers, Lord	10	0	0
Chance, A. F.	20	0	0
Chance, Capt. R.	1	1	0
Chandler, Miss L.	1	0	0
Christ Church	25	0	0
Cole, S. C.	1	10	0
Compton, Canon W. C.	1	1	0
Corning, H. K.	50	0	0
Crewe, Marquis of	3	0	0
Cripps, R.	1	0	0
Culley, Mrs. E. B.	1	1	0
Davies, G. A.	1	1	0
Dawes, Miss E. A. S.	2	2	0
Carried forward	£272	9	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	272	9	0
Dobie, M. R.	2	0	0
Droop, Miss I.	2	2	0
Duff, Prof. J. W.	1	0	0
Dundas, R. H.	5	0	0
Edgar, C. C.	2	2	0
Elliott, Sir F. E. H.	5	0	0
Empedocles, G.	1	17	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Evans, Sir A.	25	0	0
Evans, Mrs. E.	1	0	0
Farquhar, Misses I. and H.	2	0	0
Fegan, Miss E. S.	1	1	0
Finch, Miss H. W.	1	0	0
Fitzgerald, A.	100	0	0
Forbes, D.	100	0	0
Gardner, Miss A.	1	1	0
Genner, E. E.	1	1	0
Gillespie, Prof. C. M.	2	2	0
Gooch, G. P.	10	10	0
Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College	25	0	0
Gordon, H. Pirie	2	2	0
Graham, R. B.	1	0	0
Greene, F. C.	1	0	0
Greenwood, L. H. G.	2	10	0
Haines, C. R.		5	0
Hallam, G. H.	10	0	0
Harman, W. S.	1	1	0
Handcock, W.	3	3	0
Heath, C. H.		10	6
Hellenic Society	100	0	0
Hill, Mr. and Mrs. G. F.	5	5	0
Hirst, Miss G.	1	0	0
Hogarth, Miss I.	5	0	0
Huntington, G. H.	3	7	7
Hutton, Miss C. A.	25	0	0
James, H. R.	1	1	0
Jolowiez, W. F.	1	1	0
Jones, R. P.	5	0	0
Kenion, T. D.	2	0	0
Lamb, Mr. and Mrs. E. B.	50	0	0
Last, H. M.	2	2	0
Lennon, Miss E. B.		10	6
Lindley, Miss J.	5	5	0
Liverpool Branch of Classical Association	2	2	0
Lister, E.	10	0	0
Carried forward	£803	10	7

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	803	10	7
Lloyd Baker, A. B.	2	2	0
Low, Miss J. J.	5	0	0
Lucas, F. L.	2	0	0
Macfarlane-Grieve, R. W.	1	1	0
Macfarlane, W. A.	1	1	0
Macgregor, D. C.	5	5	0
MacIver, D. R.	20	0	0
Macmillan, W. E. F.	10	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford	20	0	0
Marriage, E. M.	1	1	0
Marshall, F. H.	1	1	0
Maufe, F. M.	5	5	0
Mavrogordato, J.	3	3	0
McEderry, Prof. R. K.	1	0	0
Milne, H. J. M.	10	0	0
Milne, Mr. and Mrs. J. G.	10	0	0
Myres, Prof. J. L.	5	0	0
Nicolson, Hon. H., C.M.G.	5	0	0
Northumberland and Durham Classical Association	2	2	0
Ormerod, Prof. H. A.	1	1	0
Oriel, The Rev. the Provost of	2	2	0
Oxford University	50	0	0
Pantin, Mrs. W. E. P.		10	0
Pearson, Prof. A. C.	1	1	0
Peckover, Hon. A.	50	0	0
Pegram, H. A.	1	1	0
Penoyre, Miss B.	1	1	0
Powell, W. H.		5	0
Reid, Prof. J. S.	5	0	0
Reigate Literary and Social Union	1	1	0
Rendall, Rev. M. J., Ll.D.	3	3	0
Renwick, Prof. W. L., M.A., B.Litt.		10	0
Richardson, Miss A. W.	2	2	0
Richardson, Miss H.	1	0	0
Robertson, D. S.	2	2	0
Robins, Miss B. T.	1	0	0
Sadler, Sir M. E.	1	0	0
Sayce, The Rev. Prof. A. H.	3	3	0
Seale, Rev. E. G.	1	0	0
Seligman, Miss B. Z.	10	0	0
Seltman, C. T.	2	2	0
Smith, A. H.	1	1	0
Snyder, G. A. S., Dr.	1	0	0
St. Paul's, Dean of	1	0	0
Stawell, Miss F. M.		10	0
Carried forward	£1057	6	7

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	1057	6	7
Stevenson, G. H.	1	1	0
Stone, C. G.	2	0	0
Sykes, A.	1	1	0
Tarn, W. W.	2	0	0
Thompson, A.	3	3	0
Thompson, Sir H.	5	5	0
Tod, M. N., O.B.E.	5	0	0
Toynbee, Miss J.	2	0	0
Trinity College, Cambridge	10	10	0
University of Durham, College of Medicine	5	5	0
University of Durham	10	0	0
Vaughan, W. W.	5	0	0
Vellenoweth, L.	1	1	0
Walmsley, Miss L. W.	2	2	0
Ward, W. H.		10	6
Weatherhead, Instructor Commander, R.N.	2	0	0
Webb, Prof. C. C. J.	2	2	0
Whitworth, A. W.	5	0	0
Willans, J. B.	1	0	0
Woodward, W. H.	50	0	0
Young, Miss A. M.	1	10	0
	£1,174	17	1

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1923–1924.

	£	s.	d.
The University of Cambridge	100	0	0
The Hellenic Society	100	0	0
The Oxford University (Ireland Fund)	60	0	0
The Leeds Library	2	0	0
Brasenose College, Oxford	5	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford	30	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford	5	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford	20	0	0
McGill University	20	0	0
St. John's College Library, Cambridge	2	0	0
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques Lausanne	2	0	0
Westminster School Library	1	1	0
Emmanuel College, Cambridge	5	0	0
Society of Antiquaries	5	5	0
University College, Reading	2	0	0
London Library	2	0	0
King's College, Cambridge	10	0	0
Balliol College Library	3	3	0
University of Sheffield	2	2	0
Otago Institute, Dunedin	2	2	0
Westminster Public Library	2	0	0
Victoria University of Manchester	5	0	0
Carried forward	£385	13	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	385	13	0
Abercromby, Lord	2	2	0
Adcock, F. E.	2	2	0
Aldington, Mrs.	1	1	0
Allen, T. W.	1	1	0
Anderson, James	1	1	0
Ashby, Thomas	1	1	0
Bailey, C.	1	1	0
Bailey, J. C.	1	0	0
Bagnani, Mrs. E. R.	1	1	0
Barber, E. A.	1	1	0
Barbour, G. F.	2	2	0
Barlow, Sir T.	2	2	0
Barrington, Mrs. E. J.	1	1	0
Beazley, Prof. J. D.	1	1	0
Benecke, P. V. M.	2	2	0
Bentinck, C. H.	1	1	0
Bevan, E. R.	1	0	0
Blackburn, Mrs. V. P.	1	1	0
Blomfield, Sir R. J.	2	2	0
Bosanquet, Miss E. P.	1	0	0
Carried forward	£412	16	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	412	16	0
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C.	2	2	0
Bridgeman, R. O.	2	0	0
Briggs, Miss M. G.	2	2	0
Brooks, E. W.	2	0	0
Buckler, W. H.	1	1	0
Burkitt, M. C.	2	2	0
Burnett, Sir J. J.	1	1	0
Bury, Prof. J. B.	2	2	0
Buxton, A. F.	1	1	0
Campion, C. T.	2	2	0
Carlisle, Miss H.	1	1	0
Caskey, Mrs. L. D.	1	1	0
Chance, A. F.	2	2	0
Chapman, Miss F.	1	1	0
Christie, Miss A.	2	2	0
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B.	1	0	0
Colegate, Mr. and Mrs. A.	2	2	0
Collingham, H.	1	1	0
Cooke, R.	1	1	0
Cow, Mrs. D.	2	2	0
Carried forward	£445	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	445	2	0
Crowfoot, J. W.	2	2	0
Culley, Mrs. E. B.	1	1	0
Dawes, Miss E. A. S.	2	2	0
Dawkins, Prof. R. M.	2	2	0
Dawkins, J. M.	1	0	0
Doll, C. C. T.	4	4	0
Droop, Prof. J. P.	5	5	0
Dundas, R. H.	2	0	0
Elliot, Sir F. E. H.	2	0	0
Empedocles, G.	2	2	0
Empedocles, Mrs. G.	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Evans, Sir A. J.	10	0	0
Fels, Willis	2	0	0
Fletcher, H. M.	1	1	0
Forster, Prof. E. S.	1	0	0
Fort, J. A.	1	0	0
Fotheringham, J. K.	1	0	0
Furneaux, L. R.	1	0	0
Gardiner, E. Norman	2	0	0
Gardner, Prof. E. A.	2	2	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy	2	2	0
Garstang, Prof. J.	2	0	0
Gerstley, Mrs.	2	2	0
Giveen, R. L.	1	1	0
Gomme, A. W.	2	0	0
Gooch, G. P.	1	1	0
Goodwin, J. A.	2	2	0
Griffith, F. Ll.	1	1	0
Haigh, P. B.	2	1	0
Hall, H. R.	1	1	0
Halliday, Miss C. H.	1	0	0
Halliday, Prof. W. R.	1	1	0
Handcock, Dr. W.	2	2	0
Hart, P.	1	1	0
Hett, Capt. W. S.	1	1	0
Hill, G. F.	2	2	0
Hogarth, D. G.	1	1	0
Hopkinson, Rev. J. H.	1	1	0
Hutton, Miss C. A.	5	5	0
Impey, E.	2	2	0
Kenyon, Sir F.	1	1	0
Lamb, E.	2	0	0
Lamb, Miss W.	2	2	0
Lambert, C.	2	2	0
Lascelles, Viscount	2	2	0
Leaf, Walter	50	0	0
Leconfield, Lady	2	2	0
Lindley, Miss J.	1	1	0
Lloyd, Miss A. M.	1	1	0
Lloyd, Miss M. E. H.	1	1	0
Low, Miss J.	2	2	0
Lorimer, Miss H. L.	2	0	0
McAlmon, Mrs.	2	2	0
Carried forward	£598	7	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	598	7	0
Macan, R. W.	1	1	0
MacIver, D. R.	5	0	0
Macmillan, G. A.	50	0	0
Macmillan, W. E. F.	1	1	0
Malcolm, Lady E.	1	1	0
Mason, Miss M. L.	1	1	0
Mayor, R. J. G.	1	1	0
Miller, W.	3	0	0
Millingen, Mrs. Van	2	2	0
Milne, J. G.	1	1	0
Milne, Miss K. A.	2	2	0
Moloney, W. J.	1	1	0
Nairne, Brig.-Gen.	2	2	0
Newall, Mrs. H.	1	1	0
Nightingale, Miss H. S.	1	1	0
Ogden, Mrs. P.	2	2	0
Ormerod, Prof. H. A. and M. R.	1	1	0
Palairet, C. M.	2	0	0
Pearson, Miss E. A.	2	0	0
Pennant, Hon. Alice Douglas-	1	1	0
Penoyre, J. B.	2	2	0
Penrose, Miss E.	1	1	0
Perram, C. H.	2	2	0
Pesel, Miss Louisa F.	1	1	0
Petrocochino, D. P.	2	2	0
Picard-Cambridge, A. W.	2	2	0
Piddington, J. G.	2	2	0
Pollock, Sir F.	1	1	0
Radford, Miss E.	1	1	0
Reid, Prof. J. S.	1	1	0
Rendal, Dr. G. H.	2	0	0
Rendel, G. W.	2	2	0
Richter, Miss G. M. A.	1	1	0
Ridgeway, Prof. Sir W.	1	1	0
Robertson, D. S.	2	0	0
Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys	1	1	0
Robinson, E. S. G.	1	1	0
Rodd, Sir R.	1	1	0
Rotton, Sir J. F.	2	2	0
Russell, A. G.	1	1	0
Salter, Mrs. H. de G.	1	1	0
Seaman, Sir Owen	1	1	0
Seebohm, H. E.	1	1	0
Seltman, C. T.	1	1	0
Shove, Miss E.	1	1	0
Sikes, E. E.	1	1	0
Sloane, Miss E. J.	2	2	0
Smith, A. H.	1	1	0
Tancock, Maj. A. C.	1	1	0
Taylor, C. F.	1	1	0
Tod, M. N.	2	0	0
Carried forward	£724	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	724	2	0
Tuke, Miss M. J.	1	1	0
Ure, Prof. P. N.	2	0	0
Vince, J. H.	1	0	0
Wace, A. J. B.	2	2	0
Wagner, H.	2	2	0
Walker, J. S.	2	2	0
Walker, Mrs. J. S.	1	1	0
Walston, Sir C.	1	1	0
Ward, Dr. A. W.	1	0	0
Welch, F. B.	5	0	0
Wells, J.	2	2	0
Carried forward	£744	13	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	744	13	0
Whatley, N.	2	0	0
Whibley, Leonard	2	2	0
Wigram, Rev. W. A.	1	1	0
Wilson, Lt.-Col. H. C. B.	1	1	0
Withers, J. J.	1	1	0
Woodhouse, Prof. W. J.	2	2	0
Woodward, A. M.	1	1	0
Woodward, W. H.	2	2	0
Wyndham, Hon. M.	1	1	0
Yorke, V. W.	5	0	0
Total	£763	4	0

Subscriptions received during the year :—

		£	s.	d.			
For 1922–1923,	Bentinck, C.	1	1	0			
	McAlmon, Mrs.	1	1	0			
	Nairne, Brig.-Gen.	1	1	0			
	Perran, C. H.	2	2	0			
	Robertson, D. S.	2	0	0			
	Welch, F. B.	5	0	0			
					£12	5	0

Subscriptions received in advance :—

	£	s.	d.			
Adcock, F. E.	2	2	0			
Aldington, Mrs.	2	2	0			
Burnett, Sir J. J.	1	1	0			
Haigh, P. B.	2	2	0			
McAlmon, Mrs.	2	2	0			
Seebohm, H.	2	2	0			
				£11	11	0

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

The Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the School was held in the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Tuesday, October 27th, 1925, Sir Michael Sadler, Master of University College, Oxford, in the Chair.

In the unavoidable absence of the Chairman, the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. V. W. Yorke, on behalf of the Managing Committee, presented the following report for the Session 1924–1925.

The Managing Committee beg leave to present the following Report on the activities of the School for the Session 1924–1925 :—

Director.—The Director spent two months of his leave in England, and left for Athens on November 9th. He gave an account of his excavations at Sparta at the Annual Meeting of the School, on October 30th, and also at Leeds, Liverpool and Oxford, and was occupied almost continuously with the preparation and proof-correction of his report on the Sparta excavations, and those on recent archaeological discoveries for the *Hellenic Journal* and the *Year's Work*. Besides these, he made good progress with the proofs of his Ilkley Fort report, and found time to select, from among the duplicates from the original excavations at Sparta, a representative collection of pot-sherds and other small objects for the Museum of Toronto. Reaching Athens on November 16th, he resided there continuously until early in February, when, with Messrs. Cuttle and Welch, he enjoyed the hospitality of the Lake Copais Company at Moulki, and during a long week-end visited Haliartos, Gla, Orchomenos and Thebes. This was his only excursion out of Athens until he left, on April 1st, for the excavation-season at Sparta, whence he returned on June 5th. A short account of the results appears below.

During the winter, in addition to his administrative duties, he repeated and amplified his course of demonstration-lectures in the Epigraphical Museum, and described the excavations at Sparta at an open Meeting held on March 11th. Among the Sparta finds he worked with no little success towards completing the reconstruction of the bronze reliefs of the Gorgon and the lion-*protome*, described in last year's excavation report, and supervised their final mounting

and restoration by M. Gilliéron, together with a relief representing a chariot-frieze, found previously at the Orthia Sanctuary. A selection of Sparta finds in bronze and ivory is now exhibited at Athens in the National Museum. He also made a preliminary study and classification of the coins found at Sparta in 1924—a lengthy task on account of their poor preservation. Other miscellaneous numismatic research included the study and analysis, with a view to publication, of a remarkable hoard of Imperial Age bronze coins from Tarsus, brought over by a refugee (Athens, not unnaturally, has become a market of no small importance for coins of cities and dynasts of Asia Minor).

In the Epigraphical Museum he returned to an old field of research, and was not displeased to find that there were still interesting fragments to study and identify, and restorations to make, in Athenian financial records of the fifth and fourth centuries. A first instalment of these studies will, it is hoped, appear in the *Hellenic Journal* in 1926. Other occupations included the transcription of Sir W. Gell's diary relating to a little-known trip made by him in Asia Minor; and the completion (at Sparta, in 'leisure' moments) of the final revision and Index of his Ilkley report, which appeared at mid-summer (*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. XXVIII. pp. 137–321).

After his return from Sparta, in the intervals of preparing accounts and reports, the Director made a careful examination and analysis of the coins from the present season's excavations, and supervised the setting-out and completion of Mr. De Jong's final plans and sections of the theatre and other sites at Sparta. He also—for the second time this session—assisted in the English examination for the Ministry of National Economy, an increasingly laborious task owing to the rapid growth of the number of candidates. His official duties being completed, and the notes for his archaeological summaries being collected, the Director left Athens on July 26th.

Assistant-Director.—Mr. Heurtley spent the rest of July and part of August, 1924, in Athens, after his return from his excavation at Vardino, studying his finds and preparing his report, which has since been published in the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*. He then left for the Dalmatian coast, and later travelled in Serbia, visiting the site of Vinça and studying in the Belgrade Museum; he also visited the Museums of Sarajevo and Sofia. Returning to Athens on October 10th, he remained there till the end of February, occupying himself with his duties in the Hostel and Library, except for two short journeys of exploration. The first of these, from December 16th to 25th, was to Salonika, and included an exploration of the tumuli along the S.W. coast of Chalkidike between Epanomi and Yerakini. The second trip took him, with Mr. Iliffe, to Aetolia, where he saw the site and Museum of Thermon, Oeniadae and the Aetoliko region. From Thermon they went to Naupaktos, and thence via the monastery of Varnakova down the Mornos valley to Lidoriki,

whence they traversed the snow-clad Oxya ridge to Karpenisi, returning to Athens via Lamia.

On February 27th Mr. Heurtley left for Salonika, and began his excavations at Vardarovca three days later (*vide* report below). These, with an interruption caused by a week of broken weather, lasted till the end of the month of March, and he returned to Athens on April 5th, after spending a few days in Salonika arranging the finds from his previous excavation. On April 13th he proceeded to Nauplia, to meet the 'Hellenic Travellers' Club' cruising party, whom he accompanied to Mycenae, and returned to Athens with them on board the s.s. *Asia*; and on May 26th left, with Mrs. Heurtley, for a journey in the Peloponnese, from Aegion, via the Erymanthos valley and Andritsena to Sparta, returning to Athens on June 3rd, where he stayed until July 9th, when he left for the Dalmatian coast.

Mr. Heurtley also attended, on behalf of the School, a gathering in Athens on April 20th, to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the death of Rupert Brooke, and read a short account of his visit in 1924 to the site of the poet's grave in Skyros.

Students.—There was again a highly satisfactory number of students, no less than twelve spending the prescribed period of three months in Greece, apart from a few who were admitted for shorter periods.

Mr. R. P. Austin, B.A., who held grants from University College, Reading, and the Cornwall County Education Committee, arrived in Greece on November 13th, after visiting museums in Paris and Rome *en route*, and stayed until June 16th. He gave much of his time to the study of Epigraphy, and rendered most useful help at Sparta by keeping the record, and making copies and squeezes, of the inscriptions found. In addition to visiting many of the important sites, he spent much time at Thebes, verifying particulars and securing photographs for Professor P. N. Ure, of objects from the Rhitsona excavations, and began a detailed study of the inscriptions of Boeotia, with a view to preparing a supplement to the Boeotian volume of the *Corpus*. The Committee hear with much satisfaction that Mr. Austin has been elected to a research-studentship in the University of London, and thus will be able to continue his studies in Greece next session.

Mr. W. Cuttle, holder of the School Studentship and a grant from the Craven Fund (Cambridge), was re-admitted for his second session. He spent six weeks in Austria studying German, and continued his studies in England before returning to Athens, where he arrived at the beginning of December. He devoted most of his time in Athens to the study of Geometric pottery, and of recent views as to its early stages. After visiting Chalkidike with Mr. Heurtley, and the Copais district with the Director, he spent March assisting the former in his excavations at Vardarovca, returning in time to accompany the latter to Sparta, where he was present throughout the campaign.

Mr. Cuttle, as in the previous year, did much useful work in testing, and when necessary clearing more fully, various regions on and below the Acropolis which had never been explored in the original excavations by the School, and in co-ordinating records of scattered trial-pits, etc. from the old excavation day-books. In addition he made some preliminary studies of Laconian Geometric pottery, and helped the Director in an attempt to carry out some rearrangements in the Sparta Museum. He left for England on June 19th.

Mr. and Mrs. Henri Frankfort, who were collaborating in an extensive piece of research into pre-Hellenic pottery and other remains, in order to trace —as far as possible—the cultural and ethnological relations of the Aegean area to the surrounding regions, especially Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt (Mrs. Frankfort devoting herself to the northern and western relationships), spent about five months in Greek lands. On their way out they visited Berlin, paying special attention to the Schliemann-Sammlung, the Balkan and Caucasian sections in the Prähistorische Abteilung, and the unpublished Anatolian material in the Antiquarium. They also visited Constantinople and Syria, and, after seeing the museums of Jerusalem and Beirut, returned via Cyprus and Rhodes. In addition to a visit to Candia and Knossos, they saw almost all the Greek museums where prehistoric objects are preserved, and on leaving Athens went, via Olympia, Leukas and Corfu, to Bari, thence via Taranto to Sicily, and so homewards.

Mr. P. Dikaios, of Larnaka, Cyprus, who had been nominated by the Cyprus Government to undergo a course of training with a view to becoming an Assistant in the Cyprus Museum of Antiquities, reached Athens in October, and stayed till late in the following summer. In addition to general studies in the Athens Museums, he paid special attention to the Cypriote objects, and also, at the wish of his advisory Committee, attended courses in the University of Athens in Classics and Ancient History, passing with distinction in each subject in the summer examinations. This left him little time for travel, but he found time to visit Mycenae, Epidaurus, Thebes, Aegina, among other sites, and to be present for a few days during the excavations at Sparta by the School. Mr. Dikaios is to proceed to England for further studies.

Miss M. B. Hobling, holding the 'Mary Ewart' Travelling Scholarship from Somerville College, Oxford, was re-admitted for her second session, and after studying German in Bonn in the autumn, reached Athens by way of the Dalmatian coast in mid-November. She gave special attention to the study of later Hellenic vases with reliefs, and in addition to working at them in the Athens Museum and School Library, studied those in the Museums of Eleusis, Thebes, Myconos, Delos, Corinth and Constantinople. She was present throughout the excavations at Sparta, again taking charge of the work on the Acropolis, as described below; and merits a special expression of the Committee's appreciation for the care and energy displayed there and for the notable finds which rewarded them. Returning to Athens with the Director,

she worked at the recent finds of ' relief-ware ' from Sparta, and left for Olympia, and thence for England, early in July.

Mr. J. H. Iliffe, B.A., Emmanuel College, Cambridge, holder of the Craven Studentship, reached Athens on November 18th, after studying in Rome and Sicily *en route*. He travelled extensively, in addition to making special studies of sculpture and inscriptions. Besides visiting more accessible sites in Attica and the Argolid, he accompanied Mr. Heurtley to Aetolia and northwards to Karpenisi; made another trip via Delphi, Chalkis and Volo, to various Thessalian sites and Tempe; and again, early in March, visited Acarnania and Aetolia. Whilst, in company with four members of the American School he was proceeding by car from Arta to Karvassara, the party was fired on by brigands, and Mr. Logan of the American School was seriously wounded, and died a week later. Mr. Iliffe returned to Arta and thence to Athens. On April 1st he proceeded to Sparta with the Director, and was present throughout the excavations. He assisted in supervising the work at the Theatre, keeping the inventory of sculptured and of architectural marbles, and took charge of the coins found; and also rendered invaluable assistance with the photography. He returned to Athens via the Langada and Olympia, and left for England late in June, via Constantinople, Vienna, Munich and Paris.

Mr. H. H. Keen, B.A., Balliol College, Oxford, was re-admitted for a short period in order to assist at Mr. Heurtley's excavations at Vardarovca, but did not visit Athens.

Miss W. Lamb spent March assisting Mr. Heurtley at Vardarovca, and except for a short journey in Thessaly and a visit to Nauplia, spent the remainder of her time in Athens, where she worked on the subject of Greek Bronzes. She returned early in May to England, after about nine weeks in Greece.

Mr. A. W. Lawrence, B.A., New College, Oxford, Craven Fellow, and Mrs. Lawrence, B.A., Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, both being students of the British School at Rome, spent three months in Greece, having arrived via Belgrade and Constantinople. They were engaged in the study of Hellenistic Sculpture, and in addition to working in Athens, visited various Greek Museums for the purpose, including Volo, Myconos and Lycosura, and left for Rome and England early in June.

Mr. H. G. G. Payne, B.A., Christ Church, Oxford, holder of the Travelling Scholarship in Mediterranean Archaeology, took as his special study Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian pottery, and travelled to most of the Museums of Greece in order to study it, paying particular attention to the material at Myconos and that at Candia; he left Greece in March, to study in the Museums of S. Italy and Sicily, and returned home via Rome.

Mr. W. A. Sisson, Jarvis Student in Architecture at the British School at Rome, spent several weeks in Greece, for the purpose of general study,

and chose as a special subject the Roman Buildings of Athens. Besides visiting Delphi and Olympia, he made a detailed survey of the Stoa of Hadrian in Athens, with a view to a restoration, and studied it in relation to other remains of that period there. A shorter visit, in July, enabled him to verify some further details.

Miss E. Tankard was re-admitted a student, and was present at Sparta from April 14th to the end of the excavations, where she did excellent work in making drawings—both in ink and water-colour—of the most important small finds, in bronze, pottery, and terracotta, principally from the Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos. On her way to Greece she had studied in Florence and Rome, and whilst in Athens continued to work at the subject of the relation of sculpture and vase-painting in the Archaic period.

Miss V. Whitfield, B.A., Somerville College, Oxford, holding a Gilchrist Studentship, reached Athens via Rome at the end of November, and stayed until the end of May. Her purpose was to acquaint herself with the topography of Greece and conditions of Greek life as a background for history. She accordingly visited most of the principal sites in the Peloponnese and Attica, also Thebes and Delphi, and spent a few days at Sparta in May, studying in the Museum with a view to understanding the historical importance of the Sparta excavations as a whole. Whilst in Athens she also studied in the National Museum, paying particular attention to Vases.

Clarke Memorial Exhibition.—A fund having been generously provided by the family of the late Mr. S. S. Clarke, Balliol and Exeter Colleges, Oxford, formerly Craven Fellow and student of the British School, to enable an undergraduate from either Balliol or Exeter to visit Greece during the Easter vacation, the first holder, Mr. A. M. Farrer, Balliol College, spent five weeks in Greece and enjoyed the privileges of temporary Studentship, including residence in the Hostel, whilst in Athens.

Visitors.—Other visitors, who were accommodated in the Hostel when vacancies occurred during the holiday season, were Mr. B. Gray, New College, who was travelling with Mr. Farrer, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Casson, Mr. C. Hignett, Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford, Mr. F. W. Jekyll, Mrs. Keeling, Miss Caton-Thompson, and Mr. M. S. Thompson, Secretary of the School. Numerous visitors to the School made use of the Library, and many friends of the School, visiting Athens on cruising liners, found time to call there. The Assistant-Director, who had met the party at Nauplia and accompanied them to Mycenae, received Sir Henry Lunn, the late Dr. A. D. Godley, and others, who were taking part in the first cruise of the 'Hellenic Travellers' Club' to be organised since the war. The School also received visits from Lord Brabourne, Sir Alfred and Lady Mond, Lieut.-Col. and Mrs. J. Carruthers, Dr. and Mrs. Walter Leaf, Mr. Charles Whibley, and Mr. V. W. Yorke, Hon. Treasurer of the School, and the Hon. Mrs. Yorke.

The Hostel.—The Hostel, which continues to live up to its standard of efficient management and comfort, received some much-needed distempering during August 1924. Some of the internal wood-work will be repainted during the present summer.

The Land Across the Road.—The deed transferring this plot to the British and American School, jointly, was finally signed and witnessed by the two Directors, at the end of June, thus completing a transaction of which the opening move was made shortly after the outbreak of the war. The Committee are much indebted to Dr. B. H. Hill for bearing the burden of the greater portion of these complicated negotiations.

Excavations—Sparta.—The campaign at Sparta was resumed at the beginning of April, the Director being present throughout, and having the assistance of Mr. P. de Jong, Architect to the School, Miss Hobling and Mr. Cuttle, who had been with him in the previous campaign, and Messrs. Austin and Iliffe of the new students. Miss Tankard's services were again enlisted for drawing the small finds, and she was present from April 14th to the end of the season. Miss Whitfield, during a short stay, gave useful help in sorting pottery, and Mr. Dikaios also paid a brief visit; it was pleasant to welcome, among other visitors, the Secretary, who spent four days in Sparta during his holiday in Greece.

Work, as in 1924, was divided between the Theatre, the Acropolis, and outlying sites, and each area yielded interesting results. At the Theatre, where the Director was in charge, aided by Messrs. Iliffe and Austin—and again excellently served as foreman by George Alexopoulos, from Mycenae—important progress was made with clearing the stage-area, uncovering the parodos-walls, and investigating the seating arrangements and outer walls of the cavea, despite the obstacles caused by the formidable depth of earth, the destruction and rebuilding in Byzantine times, and the laborious removal of countless heavy fallen blocks. Though exact indications of date are still lacking, it is now possible to distinguish remains of four different periods of building in the stage, of which the earliest may possibly be Hellenistic. The second, and more massive, structure shows remains of a typical Roman Proscenium, with an elaborate façade, enriched, it appears, with a Corinthian colonnade, and three pairs of columns on massive chamfered plinths standing in front of it; the latter feature perhaps represents a later addition. Still later is the Hyposcenium, with its marble facing and two semi-circular niches, found last year, and to a still later date (perhaps the fourth century) belongs a reconstruction of the west end of the stage into a self-contained room, with marble wall-encrustation, and a floor above the earlier stage-level; this is approached by the rough flight of steps found last year at the west end of the stage. The Byzantine fortress wall is in its turn a later accretion at a higher level, outside this room. The eastern parodos-wall was cleared for more than half its length,

and the series of inscriptions proved to stop about fourteen metres east of the orchestra end, giving us over thirty inscribed blocks *in situ*, not to mention more than a dozen other fallen blocks represented by complete or fragmentary stones. No similar inscriptions were, however, found at the west side of the stage, the facing-blocks of the wall having been almost all robbed. The parodos-walls, moreover, had an interesting and exceptional feature, in that they made an outward bend at right angles, and then continued on their original lines; the cause of this was obscure until, after clearing away a vast mass of fallen blocks near the far end of the east wall, we found the marble facing-blocks in position for ten courses up from the ancient ground level, and remains of an outside stairway, carried on this projection, which gave access—by a safe inference—to the diazoma.

The location of the diazoma and of the exact position of the stairways dividing the blocks of seats, and the establishment of the scale and slope of the seats, have enabled a plan of the cavea to be drawn out, which, it is hoped. may be regarded as practically final. The wide, and deep, destruction revealed in some of our trial-pits makes it clear that it would be unremunerative to try any extensive uncovering of the cavea in addition to that of the south-east angle which was carried out this year. It should be added that, by stripping away the later Byzantine wall built over the steps and seats nearest to the west parodos, we exposed the remains, quite unsuspected, of ten rows of seats in position, and of the twenty steps alongside them. The theatre proves to have had about thirty rows of seats below, and twenty above the diazoma, and was divided up by ten flights of steps in the lower, and nineteen in the upper portion, exclusive of the external flights. There is not sufficient evidence for the existence or absence of an outer arcade behind the topmost row of seats, but it became plain that the upper part of the cavea was all terraced up on made earth, and therefore that the original slope of the hill down from the summit of the Acropolis lay at a much deeper level than that represented by the slope of the seats. The incidental finds in the way of sculpture from the theatre are unimportant and sadly fragmentary, though mention may be made of a small headless figure with his hands tied behind him, and a pair of pipes represented on a tree-stem (probably Marsyas); and a marble base realistically carved to represent the prow of a ship, with cuttings for the feet of a statue above, must have carried a statue of Nike. The epigraphical finds are all of the Imperial Age, the most striking being a group of incomplete bronze tablets, of which the best-preserved gives a list of victors in athletic and musical contests, dating from about A.D. 150, many of whom came from cities of Syria and Asia Minor, others from Greece itself. The coins confirm the general indications of last year's finds, Byzantine outnumbering Greek and Roman together, in a total of over 650, by about 2 : 1. A hoard of 60 Byzantine copper pieces dated mostly from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, along with a few from the early tenth century, and among the earlier coins were interesting Roman and provincial pieces of the second century after Christ.

On the Acropolis.—Miss Hobling supervised the excavation of the greater part of the regions south and west of the area explored last year. No new building of Hellenic date came to light, but the deposit of votive debris thrown out on various occasions from the Chalkioikos Sanctuary proved to extend unexpectedly far and deep, and much of it was buried beneath the thick layer of clay-filling thrown in to support the upper seats of the theatre, though it has not yet been traced as far as the back wall of the cavea. Stratification of the deposit on such a slope was naturally without any chronological significance, and some of the objects from the lowest level, where a kind of rubbish-pit existed, at the base of which was a rough drainage-trench, proved to be of Hellenistic date, but were accompanied by finds going back to the Geometric period. Of the numerous and important finds from this area, of outstanding importance was a marble statue, slightly larger than life-size, of a bearded warrior, wearing a helmet with cheek-pieces drawn down; these are decorated with a ram's horned head on each. The statue, from which the arms are missing, is complete down to the waist; and we found in addition a large portion of the marble crest of the helmet, the left leg from knee to ankle, wearing a greave adorned with spirals and a bearded snake's head, a small piece of the right foot, and one from the edge of the shield, also of marble. The head, which is turned somewhat to the left, with the gaze slightly upward, is firmly set on a powerful neck, and the pose, as is borne out by the treatment of muscles of the shoulders and back—which are beautifully rendered—indicates that both arms were advanced and somewhat raised; the attitude should rather be interpreted as an alert defensive than an advance to the attack. The material is Parian marble, and the style, taking into account that the head is treated more archaically than the body, suggests a date about 480–470; certain details of treatment support the idea that it may be the product of a Peloponnesian School, of which our knowledge is still scanty. In any case it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this masterpiece in the history of fifth-century sculpture. The probability that it represents one of the heroes of the Persian wars is considerable, and, if choice be made, the pose suits better the last stand of the Hero of Thermopylae. [The statue is fully illustrated and described on Pls. XVIII–XX and pp. 252 ff. of this volume.—*Ed.*]

Notable additions were also made to the long series of bronze statuettes which this site has yielded, the finest being an Athena of mid-fifth century date (likewise Peloponnesian, but under Pheidian influence in the shape and expression of the face); but two earlier male figures, one of a man in the running-kneeling attitude, the other with his hands tied behind his back, but advancing with a long stride, are particularly attractive, and can hardly be later than the middle of the sixth century; votive bells, animals, and miscellaneous pins and fragments offer little of fresh interest, nor were the few lead figurines important types. The terracotta finds include polychrome architectural fragments, from early antefixes, and part of a ridge-tile, and a painted head from

a large figurine, probably not later than—and perhaps antedating—700 B.C., in superb preservation, is one of the finest archaic terracottas ever found in Greek soil. The most important of the finds in pottery, which include Geometric, Laconian, Attic B.-F. and R.-F. pieces, are undoubtedly the Hellenistic vase-fragments decorated with medallions in relief, with various mythological scenes and types, from large vessels (mostly Kraters), some of which bear incised dedicatory inscriptions to 'ASANAIA.' It is probable that important additions to this, as well as to many of the other groups of finds, will be made when the remainder of the votive deposit is explored: there may even be more fragments of our statue awaiting discovery, buried under ten or twelve feet of clay-filling.

On a spur of the Acropolis hill further east, Mr. Cuttle uncovered a large portion of the outer walls of the large Byzantine church, with a triple apse, of which remains were visible above ground. Remains of its marble-paved floor were found at one point, and interesting information was obtained about its external walls and the porch at the west end. A large number of worked marbles of Classical, in addition to those of Byzantine origin, came to light, as well as several inscriptions of the early Imperial Age, particularly alongside an outer wall which seems to have formed a terrace on the south side of the church. Indications were also found that the church had subsequently been converted into a mosque, as a few fragments of marble carving seemed definitely Turkish, and a much-destroyed element built into the south wall seems to be the base of a minaret. A deposit of terracotta figurines and model votive limbs found under the floor at this point shows that there was some occupation of the site in Classical times.

Close to the Theatre, trial-trenches revealed a Roman structure with an elaborate mosaic pavement—perhaps part of the bath-building of which remains are standing above ground; and on the south slope of the hill which continues the Acropolis ridge eastwards, not far from the modern road to Tripolis, Mr. Cuttle excavated an elaborate structure with a complicated system of hypocausts, clearly a Roman villa of considerable size. The pottery and coins found in and near it indicated an occupation, perhaps intermittent, from the second down to the fourth century of our era. The villa seems to have had a frontage to the road—of which no very satisfactory traces were found—which ran from the Theatre towards the river, terminating at the Sanctuary of Orthia.

Excavations in the Vardar Valley, Macedonia.—The exploration of mounds in the Vardar Valley begun last year at Vardino by members of the British School at Athens has been continued this year by Mr. W. A. Heurtley, Assistant-Director, Miss W. Lamb, Mr. W. L. Cuttle, and Mr. H. H. Keen, members of the School.

The large 'Toumba' of Vardarovca, which dominates the whole of the lower Vardar, and is so conspicuous a landmark from the railway between

Karasouli and Salonika, has been tested extensively to a depth of five metres. The total depth of the artificial deposit is estimated at sixteen to twenty metres, and two more seasons will be required to complete the work.

The results have so far been unusually interesting and important. Unlike the upper strata of mounds hitherto explored in Macedonia, those at Vardarovca were found to be quite undisturbed. Below two settlements of the Hellenistic period (the lower of which contained numerous 'pithoi' *in situ*) began to appear pottery of a type whose existence was already known from the finds at Pateli, from the cemetery of Chauchitza, from last year's excavation at Vardino and from rare examples from Troy, Thessaly and Skyros, but whose chronological limits it had not been possible to determine. As the work proceeded, this pottery became more abundant, and from the sixth to the ninth half-metre was found to prevail to the exclusion of all other. Its characteristic types are:—(1) one-handled Kantharoi, wheel-made, of fine grey clay; (2) wide open bowls with broad flat rims on which are stamped or incised tangential circles, hatched triangles and other geometric patterns; (3) round jugs with twisted handles and cut-away necks. Painted ware with geometric patterns, mostly concentric circles, also occurs, but in small quantities.

As at Vardino, this pottery appears just above a thick layer of ashes, which, to judge from the sherds found immediately above, in and below it, marks the destruction of the last settlement of the Mycenaean age.

So far as could be ascertained, there was no long period of non-occupation on the Toumba, and as a result of this year's work it may now be possible to fix with precision the beginning of this post-Mycenaean culture in Macedonia, its various stages and the point where it becomes absorbed by Hellenic influence. The question, 'Who were the makers?' must for the present remain unanswered; but the fact of the presence, about the beginning of the eleventh century B.C., on the frontiers of the Greek world, of a large homogeneous element, foreign both to Greece and to Macedonia, may be regarded as established, and may throw much light on certain problems that have long awaited solution.

There is reason to believe that when the excavation of this site has been completed, an unbroken sequence of Macedonian pottery, from the earliest times, will be obtained, and that the relations of prehistoric Macedonia to Asia Minor, Thessaly and the North will be definitely ascertained.

The elevated plateaux, or tables, north and south of the Toumba were also examined. The latest period of the 'High Table' is represented by a house of the third century B.C. as is shown by the pottery and terracottas associated with it. At a somewhat lower level is a mass of red clay rising abruptly towards the edge of the plateau, probably the remains of a rampart of unbaked bricks. Below this were several settlements destroyed by fire. The pottery consists

of the later local fabrics, which, at 5 to 5·50 metres below the surface, give place to hand-made black polished ware belonging to the Early Iron Age.

The 'Low Table,' on the other hand, appears to have been occupied in the Late Mycenaean and Early Iron Age and then abandoned. Whether it was inhabited in earlier times remains to be seen, but is unlikely, as the lowest metre of clay contained no sherds.

A third excavation, carried out under the auspices of the British School by Mr. S. Casson, formerly Assistant-Director, was that of a prehistoric mound at Kilindir near Lake Doiran. The finds included some remarkable painted pottery of a type not hitherto found in Macedonia, and several objects of bronze, including a large double-headed axe of a Danubian type, and a heavy sickle; the frequent occurrence throughout, of hearths in which vitreous slag was common suggests that the inhabitants were acquainted with the processes of metal-smelting; but subject to the analysis of this slag nothing definite can be decided in this matter.

Publications.—The publication of Volume XXV. of the *Annual* with Mr. Wace's completed Mycenae report—apart from that on the Chamber-tombs, for which other arrangements have been made—is an event of no small interest and importance in the archaeological world. The Committee hope to proceed, during the next session, with the preparation of Volume XXVI., which is, to be on a smaller scale, but will contain, in addition to papers on various topics by recent students of the School, a first instalment by the Director of his account of the excavations at Sparta since they were resumed in 1924.

Cromer Prize.—The Committee are pleased to be able to report that for the second time, a former Gustav Sachs Memorial Student has been awarded the Cromer Prize, and they wish to congratulate Mr. A. G. Russell on his success.

Library.—With Miss F. Chapman's valuable help, the Librarian has nearly completed the heavy task, of which the usefulness is incalculable, of reclassifying and rearranging the pamphlet collection. He has also finished arranging the reorganised map series, and has checked the shelf catalogue. It is to be regretted that about half-a-dozen volumes have unaccountably disappeared since this was last undertaken.

The accessions amounted to 377, of which 159 were pamphlets, 70 bound volumes of periodicals, and twelve sets of maps (totalling 72 sheets). Special mention must be made of an important selection, made by the Director, of purchases from the private library of the late Professor J. N. Svoronos, comprising five important numismatic treatises and 109 pamphlets, mostly on numismatic subjects, but including some rare topographical items. This exceptional opportunity involved our exceeding by about £20 the annual allocation for library purposes. Of important works obtained by purchase,

mention should be made of the account by members of the French School of the excavations at Tegea; two further parts of the costly Miletus publication; Hoernes, *Urgeschichte* (new edition); Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens;* Mayer, *Molfetta und Matera;* Schrader, *Pheidias;* Picard, *La Sculpture Antique;* and the parts, as far as issued, of the new *Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte.*

Among donations we can only select from a long list of very welcome gifts, conspicuous among which are:—*Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. II., from Professor F. E. Adcock; Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesará,* by Professor J. P. Droop, its translator; *Mount Athos and its Monasteries,* by the late F. W. Hasluck, presented by Mrs. Hasluck; MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans,* and Strzygowski, *History of Christian Church Art,* both given by Dr. D. G. Hogarth; Stephen Mackenna's *Translation of Plotinus* (3 vols.), given by Miss Hutton; and two uncommon travel books—Brown's *Travels* (1673), from Mr. F. B. Welch, and Lavender's *Travels of Four Englishmen and a Preacher* (1612), from Mr. Gerald Yorke. Among works presented by their authors, we gratefully record the receipt of Dr. T. W. Allen's *Homer, the Origins and Transmission;* of Dr. L. D. Caskey's *Boston Museum, Sculpture Catalogue;* Professor H. A. Ormerod's *Ancient Piracy;* Miss Richter's *Craft of Athenian Pottery;* and Mr. C. T. Seltman's *Athens, its History and Coinage.*

To Dr. Otto Frödin, the Editor, and to the Swedish Academy of History and Antiquities, which publishes it, we are indebted for the gift of Montelius, *La Grèce Préclassique,* Part I. Gifts have also been received from the following bodies:—the Hellenic Society, the Government of India, the French Ministry of Public Instruction (further portions of the Delos and Delphi Publications), the Universities of Michigan and Upsala, the American Academy in Rome, the Greek Geographical Society, the Greek Archaeological Society, and the Committee for Editing the History of Chios.

The following authors have also given copies of their works:—A. W. Barker, E. Buschor, S. Casson, Rhys Carpenter, M. Deffner, R. A. L. Fell, H. Frankfort, Mrs. Hasluck, W. A. Heurtley, G. F. Hill, D. C. Kambouroglou, E. Kjellberg, W. Leaf, A. K. Orlandos, A. Pallis, A. W. Persson, P. S. Photiades, F. Poulsen, F. Schober, A. H. Smith, G. A. S. Snijder, G. Soteriou, H. J. W. Tillyard, R. C. Trevelyan, R. J. Walker, F. B. Welch (MSS. notes on Walks in Attica, etc.).

For miscellaneous gifts of books, pamphlets and maps, we wish to thank Messrs. Shirley Atchley, T. Ashby, S. Casson, J. M. Dawkins, Miss Hutton, Messrs. D. C. Macgregor, W. Miller, Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Milne, Messrs. D. P. Petrocochino, F. B. Welch, the Director, and the Assistant-Director. Miss M. V. Clarke has most kindly presented many books, maps, notes and photographs, formerly belonging to her brother, the late Mr. S. S. Clarke; and from Mrs. Van Millingen comes a most valuable gift of the late Professor A. Van Millingen's MSS. notes on the *Fora* of Constantinople.

No new exchanges of periodicals have been commenced, but in return for a long run of volumes of the *Annual*, the Swedish Academy of History and Antiquities has sent us the complete set of Montelius' scarce and costly monographs on Italian and Mediterranean Antiquities.

For the Finlay Library, the shelf-catalogue has also been checked, and some much-needed binding and repairs carried out.

Acknowledgments.—It is a pleasure to repeat the expression of our indebtedness to the Ephors and other officials of the Greek Archaeological Service; and it is almost superfluous to add that the traditional cordial relations have been maintained with the other foreign Schools. It is with no small sense of regret that we learn that M. Ch. Picard has left the French School, after a tenure of the Directorship lasting only four years. His successor had not yet been nominated when this Report was written. As successor to M. Renaudin we welcome M. R. Demangel, the new Secretary to the French School.

The tragic death of Mr. J. Logan, a student of the American School, who was fatally wounded by brigands whilst travelling in Acarnania in March, was an event without parallel in the history of the foreign Schools in Athens, and the sympathy of the Committee and all members of the British School was conveyed to Dr. Hill: an impressive funeral service was held at the English church, and attended by the Director and all available students of the British School. In recording the untimely death of Mr. R. B. Seager, who died in Candia, having contracted a fatal illness in Egypt, the Committee join with the American School in lamenting the loss of a true friend and generous benefactor of both institutions, and a scholar whose attainments alike in Minoan Archaeology and in Cretan Numismatics were matched by the modesty and simplicity of his character.

At the British Legation, Sir Milne and Lady Cheetham continue their friendly and helpful interest in the School's welfare, and Messrs. Atchley and Dunbar, Secretaries of Legation, have helped the School in innumerable ways with the utmost readiness. Nor must we omit to record the indebtedness of the School for various services, both in Athens and in the provincial towns, to members of the Consular Service, and to thank Mr. Bailey, the Manager, and other members of the Lake Copais Company for their generous hospitality to the Director and various students of the School on the occasion of various visits to their head-quarters. Lastly, in Mr. F. B. Welch, who has been appointed to a post at Salonika, in connection with the Greco-Bulgar Exchange of Population Commission, the Hostel has lost, for the time, a loyal friend of the School and unselfish helper of many generations of students since the war.

Finance.—The Revenue Account for the year shows a debit balance of £1,451 7*s.* 10*d.* as compared with a similar balance of £45 1*s.* 7*d.* for the preceding year. This extremely unsatisfactory result is mainly due to the expenditure of £1,077 18*s.* 2*d.* on the completion of the extensive repairs and renewals to the Director's House, the necessity for which was fully explained in last year's Report.

The Capital Account also shows a debit balance of £20 8*s.* 2*d.* The total Subscriptions collected during the year are about £17 more than those of the preceding year, but the response to the appeal on behalf of the Excavations at Sparta was very disappointing, with the result that the expenditure on Excavations has exceeded the contributions to the Fund during the year by £181.

The heavy demands on the liquid funds of the School occasioned by the unavoidable expenditure on the Director's House, together with the increased cost of all outgoings, have brought about a very serious financial position. The working cash balance has been entirely exhausted, and it has only been possible to pay salaries and other current expenses by resorting to a temporary loan. The future of the School and all its useful activities is thus in really grave jeopardy, and it cannot be too seriously impressed on all interested that unless a serious effort be made to strengthen the financial resources, its efficiency must be impaired and its existence may even be threatened.

SIR MICHAEL SADLER said that the School was one of the great centres of advanced study and archaeological investigation in the world, an indispensable teaching institution at which young students found facilities and guidance and training and experience, and on their behalf and on behalf of the subscribers he congratulated the Director on the work which he and his colleagues had done. Having acknowledged the grants of £500 from the Government, £200 from the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851, the Chairman said he felt that the maintenance of the School was part of their British contribution to the world's culture. It added to the fame and good name of Britain and her scholarship: he then moved the adoption of the Report, which was seconded by MR. W. H. WOODWARD, and, having been put to the meeting, was carried unanimously.

MR. D. ROBERTSON moved the following motion, which was seconded by MISS HUTTON and carried unanimously:

> "That PROFESSOR J. P. DROOP, PROFESSOR J. L. MYRES, MR. A. J. TOYNBEE, and MR. L. WHIBLEY be re-elected members of the Committee, that MR. V. W. YORKE be re-elected HON. TREASURER and that MR. M. S. THOMPSON be elected HON. SECRETARY."

MR. A. M. WOODWARD, the Director, then gave an account, illustrated by lantern slides, of the excavations of the School at Sparta.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was moved by MR. V. W. YORKE and carried with applause.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1924–25.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE

3RD OCTOBER, 1924, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1925.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received during the year	776	12	0	House Maintenance (as provided from London to August 31st 1925)	193	11	5
Subscription received for the year 1922–1923	2	2	0	Hostel Maintenance (as provided from London to August 31st 1925)	291	10	8
Subscriptions received for the year 1923–1924	13	9	0	Salary—Director	500	0	0
Government Grant	500	0	0	Salary—Assistant Director	200	0	0
Grant by the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851	200	0	0	Salary—Architect	100	0	0
Interest on Investments to July 5th, 1925	210	0	0	Salary—Secretary	40	0	0
Interest on deposit	24	15	10	Publication of *Annual*	599	2	5
Sale of Annuals (Vols. I–XXIV)	85	5	6	Rent	10	0	0
Rents for Hostel	191	14	0	Printing, Postage, etc.	41	13	7
Special Donations for Excavations at Sparta	532	11	11	Audit Fee	5	5	0
Balance being Excess of Expenditure over Receipts	1451	7	10	Expenditure on Excavations: Mycenae £50 0 0; Sparta 712 14 5	762	14	5
				Studentship (Mr. Cuttle)	100	0	0
				Secretarial Assistance (Athens)	59	13	9
				Sundry Expenses	6	8	8
				Renewals and repairs to Director's House (completion)	1077	18	2
	£3,987	18	1		£3,987	18	1

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

3RD OCTOBER, 1924, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1925.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Donations as per List	83	6	0	Library	131	0	2
Entrance Fees	27	6	0				
Balance being Excess of Expenditure over Receipts	20	8	2				
	£131	0	2		£131	0	2

BALANCE ACCOUNT—2ND OCTOBER, 1925.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions paid in advance .			11 11 0	Investments—		
Anniversary Fund . . .			289 0 6	£2,000 India 3% Stock at par }	4,850	0 0
The Gustav Sachs Trust Fund (Income)			80 4 3	£3,000 5% War Stock at 95 }		
Macedonian Exploration Fund .			153 11 4	Cash at Bank	25	19 2
Fund for the support of Anna Sokrides			65 10 0			
Balance, representing the assets of the School other than land, buildings and library as per last account . .	5,447	18 1				
Less Balance of Revenue Account for the year £1,451 7 10						
And Balance of Capital Account for the year £20 8 2	1471	16 0				
			3,976 2 1			
Loan			300 0 0			
			£4,875 19 2		£4,875	19 2

THE GUSTAV SACHS TRUST FUND

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT.

3RD OCTOBER, 1924, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1925.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account .	46	18	6	Balance to be carried forward .	80	4	3
Interest from Investments .	33	5	9				
	£80	4	3		£80	4	3

Examined, checked and found correct,

CRANSTOUN TODD & CO.,

3 Cannon St., London, E.C. 4.

20th October, 1925. *Chartered Accountants.*

THE MACEDONIAN EXPLORATION FUND.

3RD OCTOBER, 1924, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1925.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account	188	11	4	To Grant (Mr. Casson)	35	0	0
				Balance	153	11	4
	£188	11	4		£188	11	4

DONATIONS—1924–1925.

	£	s.	d.
Bevan, Mrs.	1	1	0
Dickson, Miss J.		15	0
Goldsmiths' Company	50	0	0
Harvey, Miss	1	5	0
Oppenheimer, H.	5	5	0
Provost of Eton	5	0	0
Queen's College, Oxford	5	0	0
Thompson, M. S.	10	0	0
Walston, Sir C.	5	0	0
	£83	6	0

SPARTA EXCAVATION FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Bailey, J.	3	0	0
Barlow, Sir T.	2	2	0
Bell, E.	1	1	0
British Academy	50	0	0
Brooks, E. W.	1	0	0
Brown, Prof. G. B.	1	1	0
Buxton, A. F.	2	0	0
Caskey, Mrs.	5	0	0
Chance, R.	1	0	0
Cole, S. C.	1	10	0
Corning, H. H.	50	0	0
Cow, Mrs. D.	5	0	0
Davies, G. A.	1	1	0
Dawkins, Prof. R. M.	5	5	0
Droop, Prof. J. P.	10	0	0
Dundas, R. H.	5	0	0
Edgar, C. C.	1	0	0
Edmonds, J. M.	5	0	0
Eumorfopoulos, G.	10	0	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Carried forward	£162	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	162	0	0
Faringdon, Lord	10	10	0
Furneaux, L. R.		10	6
Genner, E. E.	1	1	0
Gooch, G. P.	5	0	0
Graham, R. B.	1	0	0
Greenwood, L. H. G.	2	2	0
Hallam, G. H.	5	0	0
Hardcastle, A.	1	1	0
Hill, G. F.	2	2	0
Huntington, G. H.	4	5	11
Jolowiez, K. F.	1	1	0
Lamb, Miss W.	10	0	0
Leaf, Walter	25	0	0
Lincoln College, Oxford	10	0	0
Lloyd Baker, A. B.	2	0	0
Lucas, F. L.	1	1	0
Macfarlane-Grieve, R. W.	1	1	0
MacIver, D. R.	5	0	0
MacMillan, G. A.	100	0	0
Maufe, F. B.	5	5	0
Ormerod, H. A. & H. R.	1	1	0
Penoyre, J. B.	5	0	0
Penrose, Miss E.	5	0	0
Powell, C. M.	1	1	0
Pybus, Miss J. M.		10	0
Rendall, G. H.	1	1	0
Richardson, Miss H.		10	6
Sharpe, Miss	2	0	0
Smith, A. H.	1	1	0
Smith, L. Pearsall	5	0	0
Snyder, Dr. G.	1	0	0
Society of Antiquaries	5	5	0
Sowels, F.	5	5	0
Thompson, Sir H.	5	5	0
Tod, M. N., O.B.E.	5	0	0
University of Oxford (Craven Fund)	50	0	0
Wade-Gery, H. T.	20	0	0
Warden of Wadham College	2	2	0
Walston, Sir C.	5	0	0
Weatherhead, Instructor-Commander, R.N.	1	0	0
Webb, Prof. C. C. J.	1	0	0
Willans, B.	1	0	0
Woodward, W. H.	50	0	0
Young, Miss A. M.	3	10	0
	£532	11	11

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1924–1925.

	£	s.	d.
The University of Cambridge	100	0	0
The Hellenic Society	100	0	0
The University of Oxford (Ireland Fund)	50	0	0
The Leeds Library	2	0	0
Brasenose College, Oxford	5	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford	30	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford	5	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford	20	0	0
McGill University	20	0	0
St. John's College Library	2	0	0
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques Lausanne	2	0	0
Westminster School Library	1	1	0
Emmanuel College, Cambridge	5	0	0
Society of Antiquaries	5	5	0
University College, Reading	2	0	0
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Balliol College Library	3	3	0
University of Sheffield	2	2	0
Otago Institute, Dunedin	2	2	0
Victoria University of Manchester	5	0	0
Wadham College	2	2	0
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	£	s.	d.
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Bailey, J. C.	1	0	0
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Carried forward	£586	3	0

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	£	s.	d.
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Pesel, Miss Louisa, Elwell Manor, Weymouth.
Petrococchino, D. P., Esq., C.B.E., 25, Rue de Timoleon, Athens.
Piddington, J. G., Esq., c/o Messrs. Scott, Bell, & Co., 15, Queen Street, E.C. 4.
Pollock, The Right Hon. Sir F., Bart., 21, Hyde Park Place, W. 2.
Powell, Miss E., The Library, Somerville College, Oxford.
Provost, The, of Eton, The College, Eton.

Rackham, H., Esq., Christ's College, Cambridge.
Radford, Miss E., St. Anthony, nr. Port-Scatho, Cornwall.
Ralli, P., Esq., 17, Belgrave Square, S.W. 1.
Rendall, The Rev. G. H., Litt.D., Dedham House, Dedham, Essex.
Rendel, G. W., Esq., c/o Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
Richter, Miss G. A. M., Metropolitan Museum, New York.
Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys, Tauranga, Cavell Avenue, Peacehaven, Sussex.
Robertson, D. S., Esq., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Robinson, Dr. W., Carlton House, Sunderland.
Rodd, Sir Rennell, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., 25, Cavendish Square, W. 1.
Rosebery, The Right Hon. the Earl of, K.G., 38, Berkeley Square, W. 1.
Rothschild, The Lord, 148, Piccadilly, W. 1.
Rotton, Sir J. F., Lockwood, Frith Hill, Godalming.
Rush, Mrs., Farthinghoe Lodge, Brackley, Northants.
Russell, A. G., Esq., 169c, Bedford Street, S., Liverpool.

Sadler, Sir Michael, University College, Oxford.
Salter, Mrs., The Crown House, Newport, Essex.
Saumarez, The Right Hon. Lord de, Shrubland Park, Coddenham, Suffolk.
Scott, C. P., Esq., The Firs, Fallowfield, Manchester.
Scouloudi, Étienne, Esq., Athens, Greece.
Seaman, Sir Owen, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W. 1.
Seebohm, Hugh, Esq., Poynder's End, Hitchin.
Seltman, C. T., Esq., 39, Barton Street, Cambridge.
Sharpe, Miss C., 1, Windmill Hill, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
Shove, Miss E., 30, York Street Chambers, Bryanston Square, W. 1.
Sikes, E. E., Esq., St. John's College, Cambridge.
Sloane, Miss E. J., 13, Welford Road, Leicester.
Smith, A. H., Esq., C.B., 2, Balfour Road, Weybridge.
Smith, Admiral A. H., 87, Gloucester Place, W. 1.
Smith, Sir Cecil Harcourt-, C.V.O., LL.D., 62, Rutland Gate, S.W. 7.
Sowels, F., Esq., The Rookery, Thetford, Norfolk.

Tallents, Mrs., 49, Warwick Square, S.W. 1.
Tancock, Capt. A. D., c/o Messrs. Cox & Co., Charing Cross, W.C. 2.
Taylor, C. F., Esq., Clifton College, Clifton, Bristol.
Thompson, H. Y., Esq., 19, Portman Square, W. 1.
Thompson, M. S., Esq., Garthlands, Reigate Heath, Surrey.
Tillyard, E. M. W., Esq., Merton House, Cambridge.
*Tillyard, Prof. H. J. W., The University, Birmingham.
Tod, M. N., Esq., O.B.E., Oriel College, Oxford.
Toynbee, Prof. A. J., 3, Medina Place, St. John's Wood, N.W. 8.
Tuke, Miss Margaret, Bedford College, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.

Ure, Prof. P. N., University College, Reading.

Vince, J. H., Esq., Esp Hall, Ulpha, Cumberland.

Wace, A. J. B., Esq., Victoria and Albert Museum, S.W. 7.
Wagner, H., Esq., 13, Half Moon Street, W. 1.
Walker, J. S., Esq., 9, Odos Kriezotou, Athens.
Waldis, Dr. J., Musseggstrasse, 33, Lucerne, Switzerland.

Walston, Sir Charles, Litt.D., Newton Hall, nr. Cambridge.
Welch, F. B., Esq., Commission mixte de l'organisation des Populations Gréco-Bulgare, Rue Salamine, 1, Salonique.
Wells, J., Esq., Wadham College, Oxford.
West, H. H., Esq., The Chase, Lower Bourne, Farnham, Surrey.
Whatley, N. W., Esq., Clifton College, Bristol.
Whibley, Leonard, Esq., Woodlands, Wrecclesham, Farnham, Surrey.
Wigram, Rev. Dr. W. A., D.D., Watling House, St. Albans.
Willans, J. B., Esq., Dolforgan, Kerry, Montgomeryshire.
Wilson, Sir Henry, K.C.M.G., Pen-craig Court, Ross-on-Wye.
Withers, P., Esq., Gouldern Court, Banbury.
Woodhouse, Prof. W. J., The University, Sydney, N.S.W.
Woodley, Miss, Alike, Odos Hagiou Alexandrou, Old Phaleron, Greece.
Woodward, A. M., Esq., British School, Athens.
Woodward, W. H., Esq., Burlington Fine Arts Club, 17, Savile Row, W. 1.
Wyndham, Hon. Margaret, 12, Great Stanhope Street, W. 1.

Yorke, V. W., Esq., Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C. 4.

*Zimmern, Prof. A. E., 43, St. James' Court, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1.

DIRECTORS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1926.

*F. C. PENROSE, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., 1886—1887.
ERNEST A. GARDNER, Litt.D., 1887—1895.
CECIL HARCOURT-SMITH, LL.D., C.V.O., 1895—1897.
DAVID G. HOGARTH, M.A., C.M.G., 1897—1900.
R. CARR BOSANQUET, M.A., 1900—1906.
R. McG. DAWKINS, M.A., 1906—1914.
A. J. B. WACE, M.A., 1914—1923.
A. M. WOODWARD, M.A., 1923— .

HONORARY STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1926.

Prof. J. B. Bury. LL.D., Litt.D., D.Litt.	King's College, Cambridge. Elected 1895.
Sir Arthur J. Evans. LL.D., D.Litt., F.R.S.	Late Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Elected 1895.
Prof. J. Linton Myres. M.A., D.Sc. (Wales).	Late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Elected 1896.
Prof. Ernest Gardner. Litt.D.	Director of the School, 1887–1895. Elected 1897.
*Prof. A. van Millingen. M.A., D.D.	Professor of History at Robert College, Constantinople. Elected 1904.
*W. H. Forbes. M.A.	Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Elected 1906.
Prof. W. J. Woodhouse.	Professor in the University of Sydney. Formerly Student of the School. Elected 1908.
A. J. B. Wace. M.A.	Late Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Director of the School, 1914–1923. Elected 1912.
J. D. Beazley. M.A.	Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford. Elected 1914.
E. N. Gardiner. M.A.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Elected 1914.
Prof. R. McG. Dawkins. M.A.	Hon. Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Director of the School, 1906–1914. Elected 1914.
*F. W. Hasluck. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Formerly Assistant Director and Librarian of the School. Elected 1915.

* Deceased.

STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.[1]

1886—1926.

Ernest A. Gardner. Litt.D.	Formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. Vice-Chancellor (1923—26), Yates Professor of Archaeology and Public Orator in the University of London. Admitted 1886—87 as Cambridge and Craven University Student. Director of the School, 1887—1895. Hon. Student of the School.
David G. Hogarth. M.A., D.Litt., C.M.G.	Fellow and formerly Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, and first Craven Fellow. Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Director of the School 1897—1900. Admitted 1886—87. Re-admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
*Rupert C. Clarke. M.A.	Exeter College, Oxford. Rector of Ellesborough, Bucks, and Rural Dean of Wendover. Admitted 1886—87.
F. H. H. Guillemard. M.A.,M.D.,F.L.S.,etc.	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. First University Reader in Geography. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
Montague R. James. Litt.D.	Provost of Eton. Late Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88, with grant of £100 from the University, Cambridge.
R. Elsey Smith. F.R.I.B.A.	Professor of Architecture and Construction, University College, London. Appointed to Studentship of Royal Institute of British Architects, 1887—88.
R. W. Schultz Weir (R. Weir Schultz).	Admitted as Gold Medallist and Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1888—89, 1889—90.
*Sidney H. Barnsley.	Admitted as Student of the Royal Academy, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1889—90, 1890—91.
J. A. R. Munro. M.A.	Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
H. Arnold Tubbs. M.A.	Pembroke College, Oxford. Professor of Classics at University College, Auckland, N.Z. Craven University Fellow. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
Sir J. G. Frazer. LL.D., D.C.L.	Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90.
†William Loring. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Warden of Goldsmiths' College, New Cross. Secretary of the School, 1897—1903. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Student, 1890—91, 1891—92, and 1892—93.

[1] * Before a name signifies "deceased." † Signifies "died on Active Service." For the war-service, military and otherwise, rendered by Students of the School, see Vol. XXIII, p. viii.

* Deceased. † Died of wounds, October 22nd, 1915.

W. J. Woodhouse. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, N.S.W. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Political Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1891—92 and 1892—93. Re-admitted 1908, 1921. Honorary Student of the School.
G. C. Richards. M.A.	Late Fellow of Hertford College. Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. Formerly Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1889—90. Re-admitted 1890—91.
O. H. Parry. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of All Hallows, East India Dock. Formerly Archbishop's Missioner to the Nestorian Christians. Admitted 1889—90.
J. F. R. Stainer. M.A., B.C.L.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889—90.
*R.A.H.Bickford-Smith. M.A., F.S.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90.
A. G. Bather. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Late Assistant Master at Winchester College. Admitted 1889—90. Re-admitted 1891—92, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1892—93 as Prendergast Greek Student; and again, 1893—94, as Cambridge Student.
E. E. Sikes. M.A.	Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1890—91.
J. G. Milne. M.A.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Late Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1890—91.
H. Stuart-Jones. M.A.	Fellow and formerly Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Formerly Director of the British School at Rome. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890—91. Re-admitted 1892—93.
Miss Eugénie Sellers (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).	Life Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge. Late Assistant Director of the British School at Rome. Formerly Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's Collections. Admitted 1890—91.
F. Brayne Baker. M.A.	Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891—92.
C. C. Inge. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of St. Giles', Oxford. Appointed 1891—92 to the Oxford Studentship.
E. F. Benson. B.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891—92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892—93 on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1893—94 as Craven Student; and 1894—95 as Prendergast Student.
J. G. Piddington. B.A. (J. G. Smith).	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891—92. Re-admitted 1895—96.
V. W. Yorke. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Hon. Treasurer of the School. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1893—94.

* Deceased.

J. L. Myres. D.Sc., M.A.	Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Student and Tutor of Christ Church. University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology. Gladstone Professor of Greek in the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1892—93 as Craven Fellow. Re-admitted 1893—94 and 1894—95. Hon. Student of the School.
R. J. G. Mayor. M.A., C.B.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. Admitted 1892—93.
R. C. Bosanquet. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Late Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Assistant Director of the School, 1899—1900. Director 1900—1906. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1895—96 and 1896—97.
Sir J. M. Cheetham. M.A., K.C.M.G.	Christ Church, Oxford. H.M. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Copenhagen. Admitted (Oxford Studentship) 1892—93.
E. R. Bevan. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893—94.
A. F. Findlay. M.A.	Sent out as holder of Brown-Downie Fellowship by the United Presbyterian Church, Divinity Hall, Edinburgh. Admitted 1894—95.
J. G. Duncan. M.A., B.D.	Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Minister of Kirkmichael, Ballindalloch, N.B. Admitted 1894—95.
J. E. Brooks. M.A.	St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Associate 1896—97.
*H. Awdry. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894—95.
Duncan Mackenzie. M.A. (Edin.), Ph.D. (Vienna).	Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Carnegie Fellow in History at the University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96. Re-admitted 1896—97, 1897—98 and 1898—99.
Archibald Paterson.	University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96.
C. R. Rowland Clark.	Student of the Royal Academy. Appointed 1895—96, and re-appointed 1896—97, by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship.
C. C. Edgar. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Inspector of Antiquities for Lower Egypt. Admitted 1895—96, and re-admitted 1896—97 (as Craven University Fellow), 1897—98 and 1898—99.
F. R. Earp. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
*F. A. C. Morrison. M.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted (as Prendergast Greek Student) 1896—97.
H. H. West. M.A.	Formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Miss C. A. Hutton.	Girton College, Cambridge. Hon. Secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. Joint Editor of the *Annual*, 1906—26. Admitted 1896—97.

* Deceased.

J. G. C. Anderson. M.A.	Formerly Fellow of Lincoln College. Student, Tutor, and sometime Senior Censor of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896—97.
J. W. Crowfoot. M.A.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Late Director of Education, Sudan Government. Formerly Inspector in the Ministry of Education, Cairo. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896—97. Re-admitted 1897—98.
W. W. Reid. B.D.	Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Minister of the Church of Scotland, Dumbarton, N.B. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896—97.
A. E. Henderson. F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.	Owen Jones Student of Royal Institute of British Architects, 1897—98. Admitted 1897—98. Re-admitted 1898—99, 1901—2, and 1902—3.
W. A. Curtis. D.Litt., D.D. (Edin.).	Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Regius Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh. Formerly Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Aberdeen. Admitted 1897—98.
A. J. Spilsbury. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Head Master of Wakefield Grammar School. Formerly Senior Classical Master, City of London School. Admitted 1897—98, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship.
E. B. Hoare.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, as Architectural Student.
J. C. Lawson. M.A.	Fellow, Tutor and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven University Student, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
C. D. Edmonds. M.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Berkhampstead School. Formerly at Aldenham School and at Royal Naval College, Osborne. Admitted as Prendergast Student, 1898—99.
Sir John H. Marshall, Kt. C.I.E., Litt.D., F.S.A.	Scholar of King's College, Cambridge. Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. Admitted 1898—99. Re-admitted as Prendergast Student, 1900—1, Craven Student, 1901—2.
*Clement Gutch. M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Lecturer at St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898—99, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship.
F. B. Welch. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. British Representative on the Commission mixte de l'Organisation des Populations Gréco-Bulgare. Formerly Vice-Consul, Athens. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
T. D. Atkinson. F.R.I.B.A.	Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Ely, to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester, and to the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College. Admitted as Architectural Student, 1898—99.
J. K. Fotheringham. M.A., D.Litt.	Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. Assistant in the University Observatory, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to Oxford Studentship, 1898—99.

* Deceased.

J. H. Hopkinson. M.A.	University College, Oxford. Vicar of Burnside, Kendal. Formerly Warden of Hulme Hall and Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, University of Manchester. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1899—1900 and 1900—1.
*Miss O. C. Köhler (Mrs. Charles Smith).	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900.
D. Theodore Fyfe. F.R.I.B.A.	Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Chester. Master of the School of Architecture, Cambridge. Architectural Association Travelling Student, 1899. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Architectural Studentship.
†K. T. Frost. M.A., F.R.G.S.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Lecturer at the Queen's University, Belfast. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1900—1.
R. D. Wells. M.A., F.R.I.B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1900—1.
John Penoyre. M.A., C.B.E.	Keble College, Oxford. Secretary and Librarian to the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. Secretary to the British School at Athens, 1905—1919. Admitted 1900—1. Re-admitted 1906—7, 1907—8.
Marcus N. Tod. M.A., O.B.E.	Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and University Lecturer in Greek Epigraphy. Craven University Fellow. Assistant-Director of the School 1902—4. Admitted on appointment to "Senior Studentship," 1901—2.
*F. W. Hasluck. M.A.	Sometime Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Director and Librarian of the School from 1906—1915. Admitted on appointment to Cambridge Studentship 1901—2. Re-admitted 1902—3, 1904—5, 1905—6. Honorary Student of the School.
C. Heaton Comyn. F.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I.	Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1901—2. Re-admitted 1903—4.
Miss H. L. Lorimer.	Girton College, Cambridge. Classical Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as Pfeiffer Travelling Student, 1901—2. Re-admitted 1910—11, 1921—22.
Baroness E. Rosenörn-Lehn.	Royal Holloway College, and University College, London. Admitted 1901—2.
A. P. Oppé. B.A.	New College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education. Sometime Lecturer in Greek at St. Andrews University. Lecturer in Ancient History at Edinburgh University. Deputy Director and Secretary Victoria and Albert Museum. Admitted 1901—2.
W. L. H. Duckworth. M.D., Sc.D.	Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology. Admitted 1902—3.
C. T. Currelly. M.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C.	Victoria College, Toronto. Director of the Royal Ontario Museum. Formerly Assistant to Professor Flinders Petrie, under the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1902—3. Re-admitted 1903—4.
R. McG. Dawkins. M.A.	Hon. Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Bywater Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature in the University of Oxford. Director of the School from 1906—14. School Student. Admitted as Craven Student, 1902—3. Re-admitted 1903—4, 1904—5, 1905—6.

* Deceased. † Killed in action, September 4th, 1914.

E. S. Forster. M.A., F.S.A., M.B.E.	Bishop Frazer's Scholar, Oriel College, Oxford. Professor of Greek in the University of Sheffield. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in the University College of N. Wales. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1902—3. Re-admitted 1903—4, with grants from the Craven Fund and Oriel College.
A. J. B. Wace. M.A.	Formerly Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Deputy Keeper in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Sometime Lecturer in Ancient History and Archaeology in the University of St. Andrews. Norton Lecturer of the American Archaeological Institute, 1923—24. Prendergast Student. Craven Student. Admitted 1902—3. Re-admitted 1903—4, 1904—12. Director of the School, 1914—23. Honorary Student of the School.
†E. W. Webster. M.A.	Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Taylorian Scholar in German, 1901. John Locke Scholar in Mental Philosophy 1904. Admitted 1902—3.
J. B. Fulton. A.R.I.B.A.	Soane Student. Admitted 1902—3.
E. F. Reynolds.	Admitted 1902—3.
M. Cary. M.A. (M. O. B. Caspari).	Late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. University Scholar in German. Admitted 1903—4.
J. L. Stokes. B.A.	Formerly Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Librarian of Charterhouse School since 1905. Admitted (as Holder of the Prior Scholarship from Pembroke College), 1903—4.
Miss M. K. Welsh (Mrs. A. M. Daniel).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Holder of the Marion Kennedy Studentship. Admitted 1903—4.
†G. Dickins. M.A.	Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Craven University Fellow. Admitted 1904—5, 1905—6. Re-admitted as School Student, 1906—7. Re-admitted 1907—8, 1908—9, 1912—13.
C. C. T. Doll. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Superintending Architect at the excavations at Knossos 1905—12. Admitted 1904—5.
C. H. Hawes. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Director, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Late Professor of Anthropology, Dartmouth College, U.S.A. Admitted 1904—5, 1908—9.
W. A. Kirkwood. M.A. (Harvard), Ph.D. (Harvard).	University College, Toronto. Registrar of Trinity College, Toronto. Admitted 1904—5.
H. J. W. Tillyard. D.Litt. (Edinburgh), M.A.	Caius College, Cambridge. Reader in Russian, University of Birmingham. Formerly Professor of Classics, University College, Johannesburg, South Africa. Late Lecturer in Greek, University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1904—5 as Assistant Librarian. Re-admitted 1905—6 (on appointment to Studentship), 1906—7, 1908—9. Re-admitted 1912—13.
Miss G. A. M. Richter. Litt.D.	Girton College, Cambridge. Associate Curator in Department of Classical Antiquities, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Admitted 1904—5.

† Killed in action, April 9th, 1917. † Died of wounds, July 17th, 1916.

J. P. Droop. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Late Assistant to Dr. Stein in the arrangement of his collections. Admitted 1905—6, 1906—7 (Prendergast Student), 1907—8 (School Student), 1908—9, 1910—11, 1912—13, 1913—14. Re-admitted 1921—22.
Miss M. Hamilton. M.A., D.Litt. (Mrs. L. Caskey).	University of St. Andrews. Holder of a Research Fellowship under the Carnegie Trust. Admitted 1905—6, 1906—7.
A. C. B. Brown. M.A.	Scholar of New College, Oxford. Fereday Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Manchester University. Assistant Master at Marlborough College. Admitted 1905—6.
F. Orr.	Admitted 1905—6.
R. Traquair. F.R.I.B.A.	Admitted 1905—6 (on appointment to an Architectural Studentship). Professor of Architecture, McGill University, Montreal. Re-admitted 1906—7, as Student of the Byzantine Fund.
Miss E. B. Abrahams. M.A. (Mrs. Culley).	Bedford College, London. Admitted 1905—6.
W. J. Farrell. M.A., M.C.	Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Education Officer under Palestine Administration. Admitted 1906—7, 1907—8, 1908—9, 1909—10.
Walter S. George.	Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal College of Art. Soane Medallist of Royal Institute of British Architects. Late Assistant to Architects of Imperial Delhi. Admitted 1906—7. Re-admitted 1908—9, 1909—10, as student of the Byzantine Research Fund. Re-admitted 1912—13.
T. E. Peet. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Officer of Egypt Exploration Society and Professor of Egyptology in the University of Liverpool. Admitted as Craven Fellow, 1906—7, and as Pelham Student in the British School at Rome 1908—9.
A. M. Woodward. M.A.	Late Classical Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Director of the School. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Leeds. Assistant Director, 1909–10, 1922–23. Admitted 1906—7, 1907—8, 1908—9.
W. M. Calder. B.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Professor of Greek in Victoria University, Manchester. Formerly Wilson Travelling Fellow, Aberdeen University. Research Student, Brasenose College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—8.
W. Harvey.	Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1907—8.
H. Pirie-Gordon. M.A., D.S.C.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—8.
M. S. Thompson. M.A., O.B.E.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Holder of Chas. Oldham Scholarship. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1907—8, 1908—9, 1909—10, 1910—11, 1911—12. Hon. Secretary of the School
A. C. Sheepshanks. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Eton. Admitted 1907—8.
N. Whatley. M.A.	Late Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Headmaster of Clifton College. Admitted 1907—8.

†G. L. Cheesman. M.A.	Fellow and Lecturer of New College, Oxford. Admitted 1908—9.
A. W. Gomme. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Greek History and Archaeology, University of Glasgow. Previously Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Liverpool University. Prendergast Student. Admitted 1908—9, 1919—20, 1922—23.
L. B. Budden. M.A., A.R.I.B.A.	Travelling Student in Architecture of the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1909—10.
S. W. Grose. M.A.	Christ's College, Cambridge. Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge. From 1914, cataloguing McClean Collection of Greek Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum. School Student. Admitted 1909—10.
H. A. Ormerod. M.A., M.C.	Queen's College, Oxford. Professor of Classics in the University of Leeds. Admitted 1909—10, 1910—11.
H. H. Jewell.	Royal Academy Gold Medallist. Admitted 1909—10.
W. R. Halliday. B.A., B.Litt.	New College, Oxford. Rathbone Professor of Ancient History in the University of Liverpool. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1910—11. Re-admitted 1912—13.
Miss D. Lamb. M.B.E. (Mrs. J. R. Brooke).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910—11. Re-admitted 1913—14.
Miss L. E. Tennant (Mrs. F. J. Watson Taylor).	Admitted 1910—11.
E. S. G. Robinson. M.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Assistant in the Coin and Medal Department, British Museum. School Student. Admitted 1910—11.
L. B. Tillard. B.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910—11.
A. J. Toynbee. B.A.	Sometime Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Late Koraes Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language, Literature and History at King's College, University of London. Admitted 1911—12. Re-admitted 1920—21.
R. S. Darbishire. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1911—12.
Miss M. M. Hardie. M.A. (Mrs. F. W. Hasluck).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted as School Student, 1911—12.
E. M. W. Tillyard. M.A., O.B.E.	Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1911—12.
M. L. W. Laistner. M.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. Late Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Victoria University, Manchester. Craven Student. Admitted 1912—13. Re-admitted 1913—14 as School Student.
S. Casson. M.A.	Lincoln College, Oxford, and Senior Scholar of St. John's College. Fellow of New College. University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology. Assistant Director of the School, 1919—1922. School Student. Admitted 1912—13. Re-admitted 1913—14.
R. S. Lambert.	Repton School.

† Killed in action, August 10th, 1915.

Gordon Leith.	Holder of Herbert Baker Studentship. Admitted 1912—13.
C. A. Scutt. M.A.	Clare College, Cambridge. Professor of Greek in the University of Melbourne, Victoria. Prendergast Student of the University of Cambridge. Admitted 1912—13. Re-admitted 1913—14.
†R. M. Heath. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1913—14.
J. Boxwell. B.A.	Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin. Travelling Scholar of Union of South Africa. Admitted 1913—14.
Miss M. N. L. Taylor (Mrs. H. C. Bradshaw).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1913—14.
J. Arnott Hamilton. M.A.	University of Edinburgh. Holder of the Blackie Travelling Scholarship. Admitted 1913—14.
Miss E. Radford.	Admitted 1913—14.
Miss Agnes Conway. M.B.E.	Admitted 1913—14.
Rev. W. A. Wigram. D.D.	Admitted 1913—14. Chaplain to British Legation, Athens, 1923—26.
†C. B. Moss-Blundell. B.A.	New College, Oxford. School Student elect 1914—15.
H. Collingham. B.A.	Queen's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at St. Olave's, Southwark. Craven Student. Admitted 1919—20.
M. Tierney. B.A.	University of Ireland. Professor of Antient History. University College, Dublin. Admitted 1919—20.
A. W. Lawrence. B.A.	New College, Oxford. Admitted with grant from the Craven Fund, 1919—20. Re-admitted 1921—22. Re-admitted as Craven Fellow, 1924—25.
*J. B. Hutton. M.A.	Lecturer in Greek History and Archaeology at University of Glasgow. Admitted with grant from the Carnegie Trustees, 1920—21.
F. L. Lucas. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Fellow and Lecturer of King's College. School Student. Admitted 1920—21.
B. Ashmole. M.A., M.C.	Hertford College, Oxford. Director of the British School at Rome. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1920—21, 1921—22.
H. T. Wade Gery. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Fellow and Tutor of Wadham College. Admitted 1920—21, 1921—22, 1922—23.
J. J. E. Hondius. Litt.Class.Doc.	University of Utrecht, Holland. Admitted as Foreign Student 1920—21.
C. A. Boethius. Dr.Phil.	University of Upsala, Sweden. Director of Swedish Arch. Inst., Rome. Admitted as Foreign Student 1920—21, 1921—22.
Miss L. Chandler. B.A.	University of Sheffield. Classical Mistress at the Hornsey High School. First Holder of Gustav Sachs Memorial Studentship. Admitted 1920—21.
Miss M. A. B. Herford. M.A. (Mrs. G. E. K. Braunholtz).	University of Manchester and Somerville College, Oxford. Formerly Lecturer in Classical Archaeology and Assistant Lecturer in Classics, University of Manchester. Admitted 1920—21.

* Deceased.
† Killed in action, September 16th, 1916.
† Killed in action, September 26th, 1915.

Miss W. Lamb.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Hon. Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department, Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted 1920—21, 1921—22, 1922—23, 1923—24, 1924—25.
M. A. Hondius-Van Haeften (Mrs. J. J. E. Hondius).	University of Utrecht, Holland. Admitted as Foreign Student, 1920—21.
W. A. Heurtley. M.A., O.B.E.	Caius College, Cambridge. Diploma of Archaeology, Oxford. Assistant Director and Librarian of the School. School Student. Admitted 1921—22, 1922—23.
R. W. Hutchinson. B.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Craven Student. Admitted 1921—22.
J. E. Scott. M.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Fellow and Lecturer of Caius College, Cambridge. Admitted 1921—22.
E. Smith. Ph.D.	University of Christiania, Norway. Lecturer in Classics. Admitted as Foreign Student, 1921—22.
*A. Smith (Mrs. E. Smith).	University of Christiania, Norway. Admitted as Foreign Student, 1921—22.
E. Kjelberg. Ph.D.	University of Lund, Sweden. Assistant in the National Museum, Stockholm. Admitted as Foreign Student, 1921—22.
J. Waldis. Dr.Phil.	University of Zurich, Switzerland. Professor at the Gymnasium, Lucerne. Admitted as Foreign Student, 1921—22.
G. Snijder. Ph.D.	University of Utrecht, Holland. Admitted as Foreign Student with Travelling Fellowship from his University, 1921—22.
J. Bell.	Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. Admitted 1922—23.
*S. S. Clarke. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Fellow of Exeter College. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1922—23, 1923—24.
B. L. Hallward. B.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Fellow of Peterhouse. Admitted 1922—23 as School Student.
D. C. Macgregor. M.A.	Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1922—23.
Miss J. Pybus (Mrs. A. M. Woodward).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Late Senior Classical Mistress, Newcastle Central High School. Admitted 1922—23.
A. G. Russell. B.A.	University of Liverpool. Classical Master at the Liverpool Institute. Admitted as Sachs Student, 1922—23.
C. T. Seltman. B.A.	Queens' College, Cambridge, Diploma of Archaeology, Cambridge. Secretary of Cambridge Philological Society. Late George Charles Winter Warr Scholar. Prendergast Student. Admitted 1922—23.
O. J. Todd. Ph.D. (Harv.).	Associate Professor of Classics in the University of British Columbia. Admitted 1922—23.
Miss J. Webb. B.A.	University of Melbourne. Admitted 1922—23.
W. H. Alexander. M.A. (Tor.), Ph.D. (Calif.).	Professor of Classics in the University of Alberta, Canada. Admitted 1923—24. Re-admitted 1925—26.
Miss C. Brönsted.	University of Copenhagen. Admitted as Foreign Student 1923—24.

* Deceased.

W. B. C. Buchanan. B.A.	University of Edinburgh. Admitted as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1923—24.
C. W. M. Cox. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted as Craven Fellow, 1923—24.
W. L. Cuttle. B.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Lecturer in Classics in the University of Bristol. Admitted as Craven Student, 1923—1924. Re-admitted 1924—25 as School Student. Re-admitted 1925—26.
C. Hignett. M.A.	Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Admitted 1923—24.
Miss M. B. Hobling. B.A.	Somerville College, Oxford. Classical Mistress at the Perse Girls' School, Cambridge. Admitted as School Student, 1923—24. Re-admitted 1924—25 as holder of the Mary Ewart Scholarship.
Miss U. D. Hunt. M.A.	Bedford College, London. Classical Mistress, Tiffin Girls' School, Kingston-on-Thames. Formerly Lecturer at Bedford College for Women. Admitted 1923—24.
H. H. Keen. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1923—24.
M. B. C. Tait. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1923—24.
Miss E. Tankard. B.A.	University of Liverpool. Assistant-Secretary to Institute of Archaeology, Liverpool. Admitted with grants from Holt Educational Trust and the School, 1923—24. Re-admitted 1924—25, 1925—26.
Miss A. Wentzel.	University of Copenhagen. Admitted as Foreign Student. 1923—24.
R. P. Austin. B.A.	University College, Reading. Lecturer in Classics at the University College, Swansea. Admitted 1924—25 with grants from University College, Reading and the Cornwall County Education Committee. Re-admitted 1925—26 as holder of a Postgraduate Travelling Studentship from University of London, 1925—26.
H. G. G. Payne. B.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Assistant Curator of Coins, Ashmolean Museum. Admitted as holder of Travelling Scholarship in Mediterranean Archaeology, 1924—25, 1925—26.
A. M. Farrer.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted as holder of Clarke Memorial Exhibition, Easter, 1925.
J. H. Iliffe. B.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Lecturer in Classics in the University College of N. Wales, Bangor. Admitted as Craven Student, 1924—25.
W. A. Sisson.	Admitted as Jarvis Student in Architecture at the British School at Rome, 1924—25. Re-admitted 1925—26.
B. I. Lawrence. B.A. (Mrs. A. W. Lawrence).	Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted 1924—25.
Miss V. Whitfield. B.A.	Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as holder of a Gilchrist Scholarship, 1924—25. Assistant Lecturer in Classics, University College, Reading.
H. Frankfort. Hist. Doct. (Leiden), M.A. (London).	Universities of Amsterdam and London. Director of Excavations, Egypt Exploration Society. Admitted 1924—25.

H. A. Frankfort. Lit. n. Cand. (Mrs. H. Frankfort).	University of Amsterdam. Assistant to Expedition of Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1924—25.
P. Dikaios.	Admitted on Nomination of the Government of Cyprus, 1924—25.
H. Box. B.A.	St. John's College, Oxford. Additional Lecturer in Greek, the University of St. Andrews, N.B. Admitted as School Student, 1925—26.
G. A. D. Tait. B.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Associate Professor of Archaeology, Oberlin College, Ohio, U.S.A. Admitted with a Scholarship from his College, 1925—26.
O. Davies.	Exeter College, Oxford. Admitted as holder of the Clarke Memorial Exhibition, Easter, 1926.
Miss E. Scott.	Oxford Home Student. Admitted 1925—26.
Miss J. Toynbee. B.A.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted as Student of the British School at Rome, 1926.
R. A. Cordingley.	Admitted as Student in Architecture of the British School at Rome, 1925—26.
Miss K. M. T. Chrimes. B.A.	St. Hugh's Hall, Oxford. Admitted as Gilchrist Student of the British School at Rome, 1925—26.
Miss N. M. Holley.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted as Student of the British School at Rome, 1925—26.

ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

Rev. A. H. Cruikshank.	Elected	1896.
Ambrose Poynter, Esq.	,,	1896.
J. E. Brooks, Esq.	,,	1896.
Miss Louisa Pesel.	,,	1902.
J. F. Crace, Esq.	,,	1902.
Miss Mona Wilson.	,,	1903.
J. S. Carter, Esq.	,,	1903.
B. Townsend, Esq.	,,	1903.
A. M. Daniel, Esq.	,,	1903.
H. W. Allen, Esq.	,,	1906.
W. Miller, Esq.	,,	1906.
George Kennedy, Esq.	,,	1906.
A. E. Zimmern, Esq.	,,	1910.
Miss Negroponte.	,,	1912.
C. J. Ellingham, Esq.	,,	1913.
Capt. H. M. Greaves, R.A.	,,	1913.
Shirley Atchley, Δ.Γρ.	,,	1920

RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed, and maintained, of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School :—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.
(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

VI. Subscribers of £2 annually or more, and Donors of £20 and upwards to the general funds of the School, shall receive a copy of the *Annual* free of charge.

Subscribers of £1 annually and Donors of £10 to the general funds shall be allowed to purchase the *Annual* at a reduced rate of £1. All Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of the Annual Report and to use the Library and attend the public meetings of the School in Athens.

VII. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VIII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring under Rule XIII. (3).

IX. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following :—

(1) The Trustees of the School.
(2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.
(3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.
(4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary may, with the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

HONORARY STUDENTS, STUDENTS, AND ASSOCIATES.

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following :—

(1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.
(2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund, or other similar bodies.
(3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. No person, other than a student of the British School at Rome, shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands. In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence in Greece.

XXI. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXII. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXIII. The Managing Committee may elect as Honorary Students of the School such persons as they may from time to time deem worthy of that distinction, and may also elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands.

XXIV. Honorary Students, Students, and Associates shall have a right to use the Library of the School and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

THE DIRECTOR.

XXVI. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVII. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house.

XXVIII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XXI., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to assist in editing the School *Annual*.

XXIX. (*a*) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (*b*) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXXI. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXII. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXIII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIV. The management of the Hostel shall be at the discretion of the Director and shall be subject to his control.

XXXV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXVI. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of seventeen shillings and sixpence a week for the smaller, and twenty-five shillings a week for the larger rooms in the Hostel.[1] These payments shall include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVII. Honorary Students, Associates, Members of the Committee, and ex-Directors may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVIII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be from thirty-five to fifty-six shillings a week, or from five to eight drachmae a night.[1]

XXXIX. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XL. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

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[1] These rates are subject to alteration owing to the fluctuations in the exchange.

To meet the present high cost of maintenance an entrance fee of £2 2*s*. per Session is now payable by Students. Non-Students pay £2 2*s*. for any period up to three months, or £5 5*s*. per Session.

PUBLICATION.

XLI. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XLII. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLIII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIV. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLV. The second claim shall be the salaries of the Director and Secretary, as arranged between them and the Managing Committee.

XLVI. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

Revised, 1924.

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1923—1924.

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DIRECTOR, 1923—1924.

A. M. WOODWARD, ESQ., M.A.

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DIRECTOR, 1924—1925.

A. M. WOODWARD, ESQ., M.A.

ASSISTANT-DIRECTOR AND LIBRARIAN, 1924—1925.

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R. C. BOSANQUET, ESQ., M.A. Appointed by the Hellenic Society.
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PROFESSOR E. A. GARDNER, Litt.D.
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PROFESSOR J. LYNTON MYRES, M.A.
G. W. RENDEL, ESQ.
SIR CECIL HARCOURT-SMITH, M.V.C., LL.D.
M. N. TOD, ESQ., O.B.E., M.A.
A. J. TOYNBEE, ESQ., B.A.
L. WHIBLEY, ESQ., M.A. } Appointed by the Subscribers.
V. W. YORKE, ESQ., M.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C.
M. S. THOMPSON, ESQ., M.A., *Hon. Secretary*, 50, Bedford Square, W.C. 1.

DIRECTOR, 1925—26.

A. M. WOODWARD, ESQ., M.A.

ASSISTANT-DIRECTOR AND LIBRARIAN, 1925—1926.

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ARCHITECT TO THE SCHOOL.

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NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

CONTRIBUTORS to the *Annual of the British School at Athens* are requested to use the following systems of transliteration when writing in English such Greek words as have not become part of the English language :—

ANCIENT GREEK.

Vowels.

α=a : ε=e : η=e :	krater, lekane.
ι=i :	kalpis.
ο=o : ω=o :	kothon, kantharos, Amyklaion.
υ=y	after a consonant, as aryballos, kylix; *u* after another vowel, as boule.
αι=ai :	Aigion, Erythrai, except at the end of words, such as Mycenae, which are commonly Latinised in form, when *ae* may be used.
ει=ei :	Meidias.
οι=oi :	Chalkioikos.
υι=ui :	muia.
αυ=au :	Aulis.
ευ=eu :	Eutychos.
ου=ou :	boule.

Consonants

β=*b*; γ=*g*; δ=*d*; ζ=*z*; θ=*th*; κ=*k* [1]; λ=*l*; μ=*m*; ν=*n*; ξ=*x*; π=*p*; ρ=*r*; σ, ς=*s*; τ=*t*; φ=*ph*; χ=*ch*; ψ=*ps*; γγ=*ng*; γκ=*nk*; γχ=*nch*; ῥ=*rh*.

[1] κ never = *c* except for place-names like Corinth, Mycenae, or some names of persons like Cleon, which have become English words.

Accents.

Contributors are requested to indicate accents and breathings very clearly and accurately.

MODERN GREEK.[1]

Vowels.

$\left.\begin{matrix} \alpha=a: \\ \epsilon=e: \\ \eta=e: \\ \iota=i: \end{matrix}\right\}$ Πέντε Πηγάδια=Pénte Pegádia.

$\left\{\begin{matrix} o \\ \omega \end{matrix}\right.=o:$ Γεώργιος=Geórgios.

$\upsilon=y:$ Μύλοι=Myloi. But for *αυ, ευ, ου* see below

$\alpha\iota=ai:$ Καισαριανή=Kaisariané.

$\epsilon\iota=ei:$ Ἁγία Εἰρήνη=Hagía Eiréne.

$o\iota=oi:$ Μολάοι=Molaoi.

$\upsilon\iota=yi:$ ψυχουϊός=psychoyiós.

$o\upsilon=ou:$ Σκριποῦ=Skripoú.

$\left\{\begin{matrix} \alpha\upsilon \\ \epsilon\upsilon \end{matrix}\right.=af$ and *ef* before unvoiced consonants (θ, κ (ξ, ψ), π, ς, τ, ϕ, χ) and *av, ev* before vowels and voiced consonants; Εὐθύμιος=Efthýmios; Λαύρα=Lávra.

Consonants.

$\beta=v$; $\gamma=g$, but $\gamma\gamma$, $\gamma\kappa$ and $\gamma\chi$ as *ng, nk* and *nch*; $\delta=d$; $\zeta=z$; $\theta=th$; $\kappa=k$; $\lambda=l$; $\mu=m$; $\nu=n$; $\xi=x$; $\pi=p$; $\rho=r$; $\rho\dot{\rho}=rrh$; $\dot{\rho}=rh$; σ, $\varsigma=s$; $\tau=t$; ϕ, χ, $\psi=ph$, *ch*, *ps*.[2]

The rough breathing to be written h: Ἅγιος Γεώργιος=H. Geórgios.

Accents.

Accents, in all cases to be written as acute, to be indicated.

In any case where the Greek form of the word is felt to be obscured it may be added in Greek letters (in brackets) the first time a word occurs, and conversely the exact pronunciation, if it should be of importance for any reason, may be specially indicated.

[1] See Mr. R. M. Dawkins' paper on 'The Transliteration of Modern Greek' in *B.S.A.*, vol. xv.

[2] Such combinations as $\mu\pi$ are best represented by the corresponding sound.—[Ed.]

ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

For the conventions respecting the indication of quotations from ancient and modern authorities, titles of periodical and collective publications, transliteration of inscriptions, and quotations from MSS. and literary texts, contributors are referred to the accompanying notes drawn up by the Editors of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and kindly placed by them at the disposal of contributors to the *Annual*.

[REPRINTED FROM *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VOL. XXIX., PART II., 1909, PP. LXXXVII—IX.]

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; *e. g.* Dittenb. *Syll.*^{3} 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

A.-E.M.=Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen.
Ann. d. I.=Annali dell' Instituto.
Arch. Anz.=Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit.=Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitt.=Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.
Baumeister=Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
B.C.H.=Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
Berl. Vas.=Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.

B.M. Bronzes=British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M. Coins=British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Rings=British Museum Catalogue of Finger-Rings.
B.M. Inscr.=Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Jewellery=British Museum Catalogue of Jewellery.
B.M. Sculpt.=British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.
B.M. Terracottas=British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.
B.M. Vases=British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A.=Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R.=Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bull. d. I.=Bullettino dell' Instituto.
Busolt=Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.
C.I.G.=Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L.=Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev.=Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr.=Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
C.R. St. Pét.=Compte rendu de la Commission de St. Pétersbourg.
Dar.-Sagl.=Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. *O.G.I.*=Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
Dittenb. *Syll.*=Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.=Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς.
G.D.I.=Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften (or Collitz-Bechtel).
Gerh. *A.V.*=Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A.=Göttingensche Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Head, *H.N.*²=Head, Historia Numorum. Revised Edition, 1910.
I.G.=Inscriptiones Graecae.[1]
I.G.A.=Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb.=Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh.=Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.
J.H.S.=Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Klio=Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
Le Bas-Wadd.=Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Liverpool Annals=Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology of University of Liverpool.
Michel=Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I.=Monumenti dell' Instituto.
Müller-Wies.=Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles.=Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.

[1] The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows :—

I.G.	I. =	Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores.	
,,	II. =	,,	,, aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora.
,,	III. =	,,	,, aetatis Romanae.
,,	IV. =	,,	Argolidis.
,,	VII. =	,,	Megaridis et Boeotiae.
,,	IX. =	,,	Graeciae Septentrionalis.
,,	XII. =	,,	Insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum.
,,	XIV. =	,,	Italiae et Siciliae.

Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt.=Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil.=Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.
Niese=Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.
Num. Chr.=Numismatic Chronicle.
Num. Zeit.=Numismatische Zeitschrift.
Pauly-Wissowa=Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
Philol.=Philologus.
Ramsay, *C.B.*=Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.
Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*=Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.
Reinach, *Rép. Sculpt.*=S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.
Reinach, *Rép. Vases*=S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints.
Rev. Arch.=Revue Archéologique.
Rev. Ét. Gr.=Revue des Études Grecques.
Rev. Num.=Revue Numismatique.
Rev. Philol.=Revue de Philologie.
Rh. Mus.=Rheinisches Museum.
Röm. Mitt.=Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.
Roscher=Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.
S.M.C.=Sparta Museum Catalogue.
T.A.M.=Tituli Asiae Minoris.
Z.f.N.=Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

[ ] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i. e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

( ) Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i. e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i. e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

. . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears on the original, should be represented by a special sign h.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions.*

( ) Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.

[[ ]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing in the original.

< > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

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THIS School (founded in 1886) gives to British Students of Greek Archaeology and Art the opportunity of pursuing their researches in Greece itself, with command of the means which the recent great advances of the science have rendered indispensable.

Athens is now an archaeological centre of the first rank. The architecture of Greece can nowhere else be studied to such advantage; and the concentration in the Athenian museums of treasures of Antiquity found in Greek soil during the last few decades of years has made a personal knowledge of those museums in the highest degree desirable for Hellenic scholars.

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Donations or annual subscriptions to the School are much needed, and will be gladly received. They should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, V. W. YORKE, Esq., M.A., Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C. 4.

[1] In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence at the School at Athens.

October, 1926.

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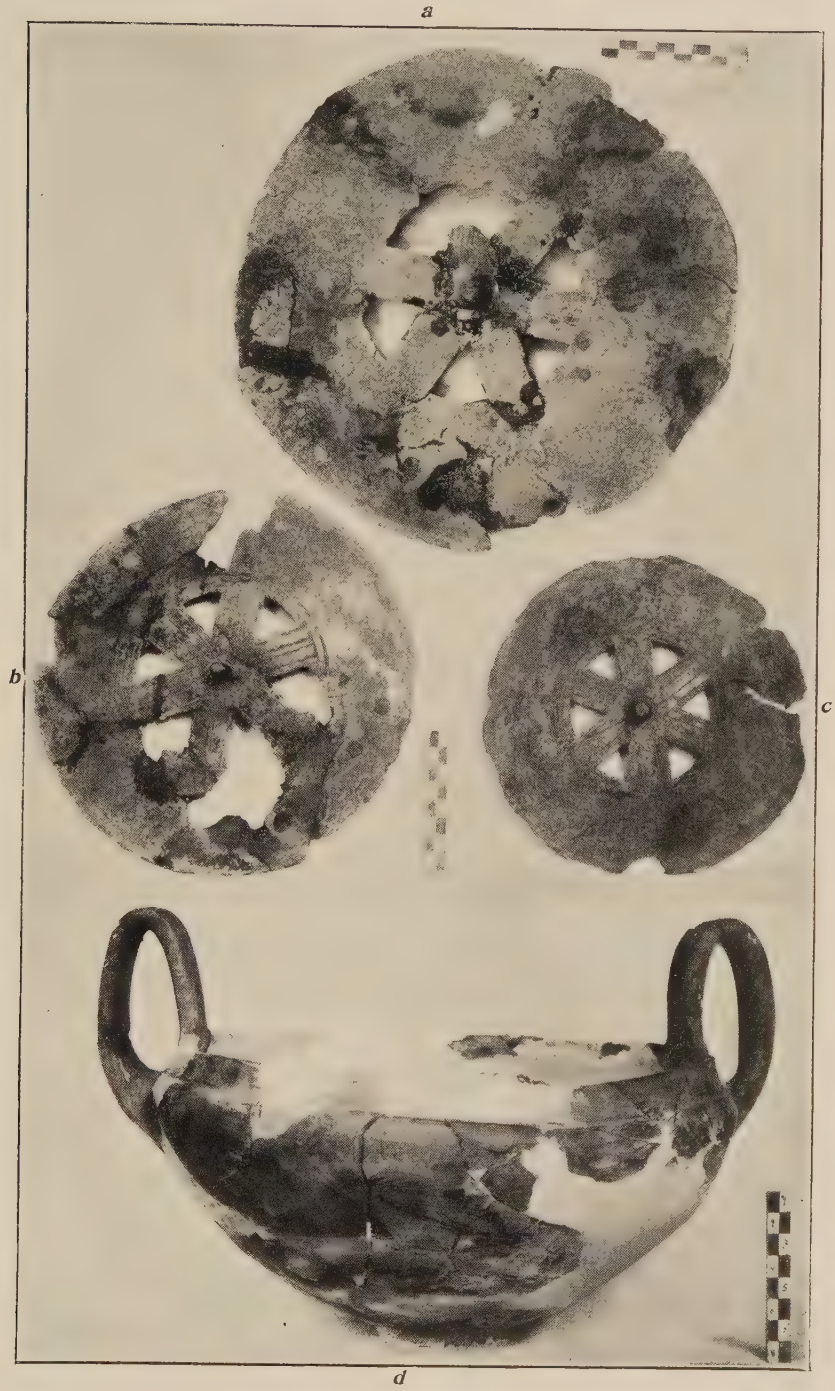
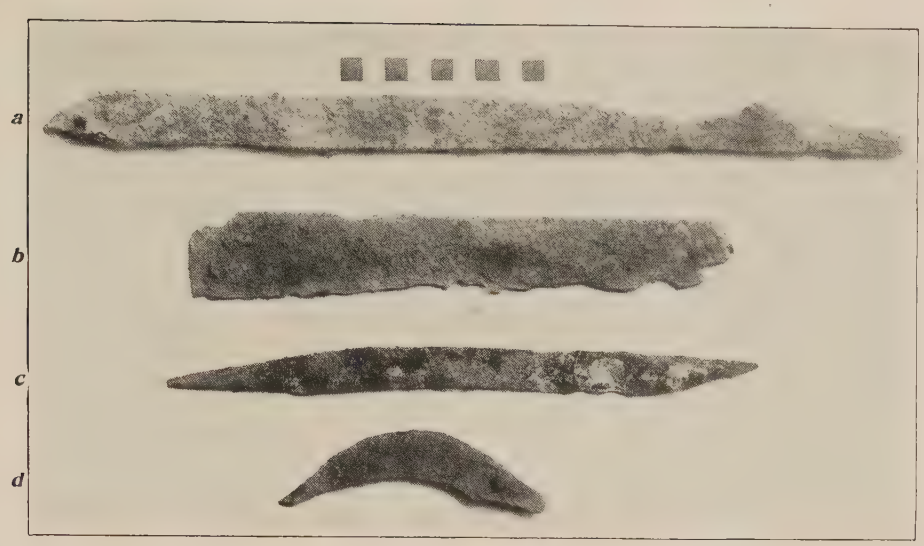


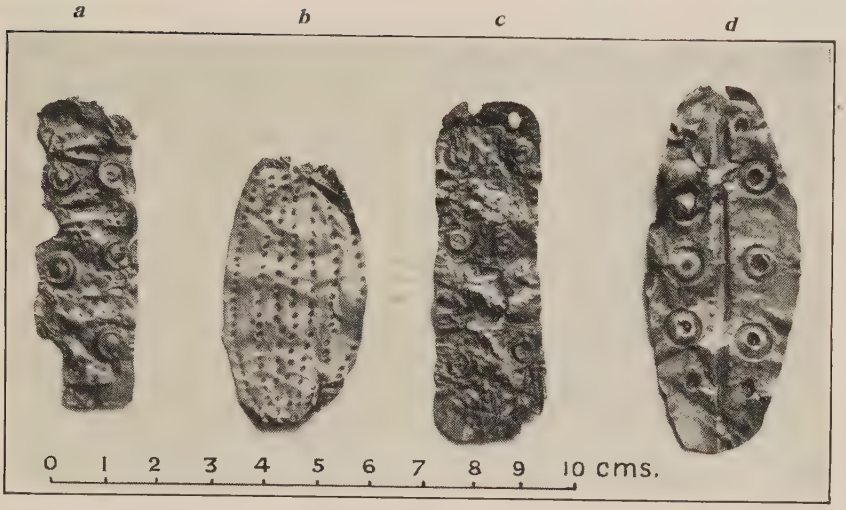
Macedonia: *a*, *b*, *c*, Bronze Shield-centres. *d*, Two-handled Bowl. From the Eastern Mound at Chauchitsa. (Scale = 8 cmm.)



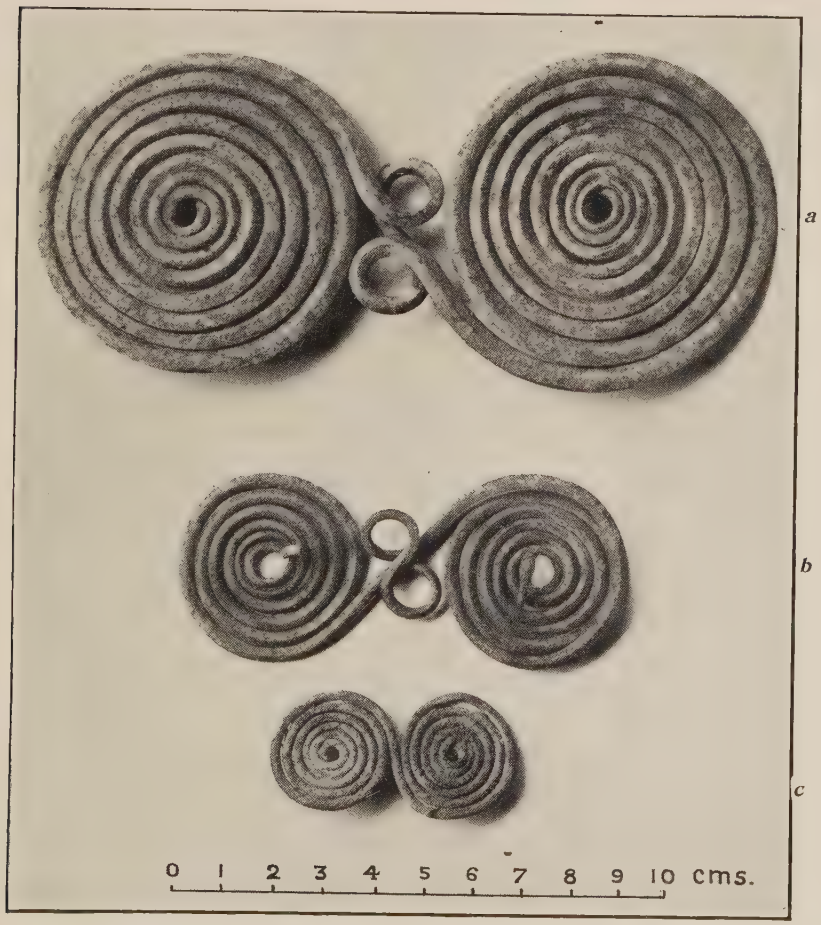
1.—Iron Sword (*a*), Knife (*b*, *c*) and Sickle, (*d*) Blades.

2.—*a*, Iron Fibula; *b-l*, Bronze Beads, Buttons, Pins, Tweezers, etc.

Macedonia: Metal Objects from Chauchitsa. (Scale = 9 cmm.)



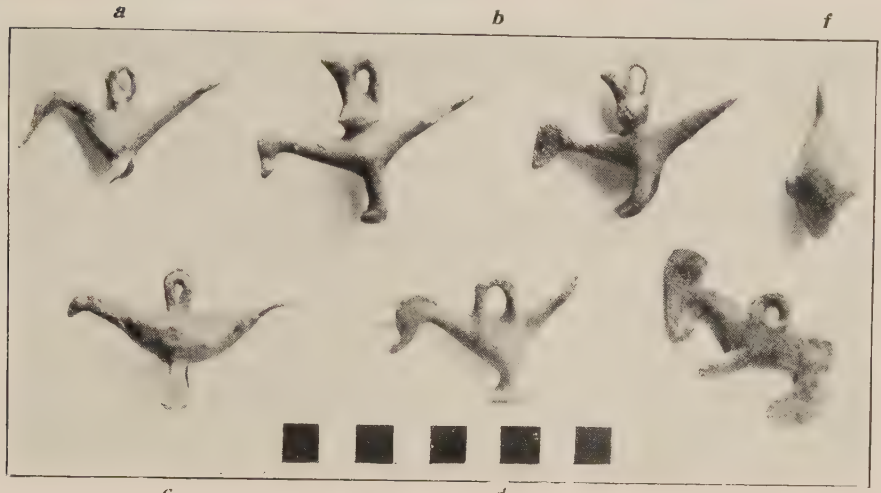
1.—*a–d*, Gold Plaques.



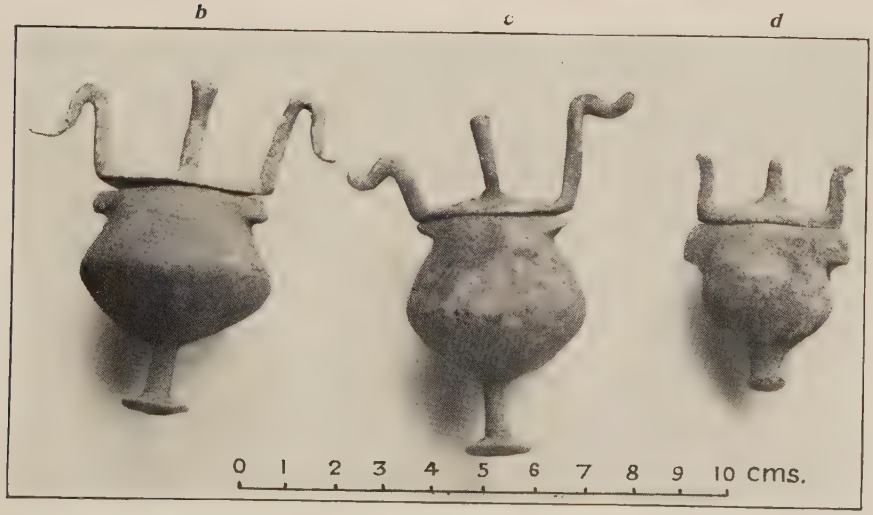
2.—*a–c*, Bronze 'Spectacle' Fibulae.

Macedonia: Metal Ornaments from Chauchitsa.

Macedonia: *a*, Bronze Bow Fibulae; *b*, *c*, Beads; *d*, Pendant. From Chauchitsa. (Scale = 9 cmm.)

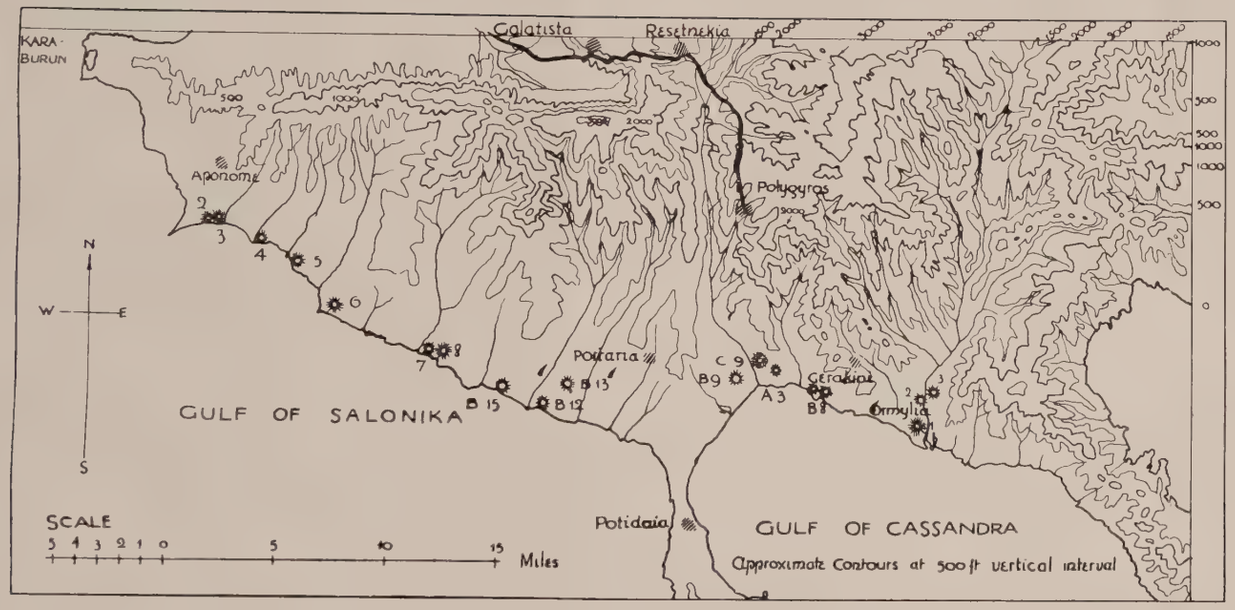


1.—Bronze Pendants—*a–d*, Birds; *e*, Quadruped (?); *f*, Bean-Shaped.
(Scale = 9 cmm.)

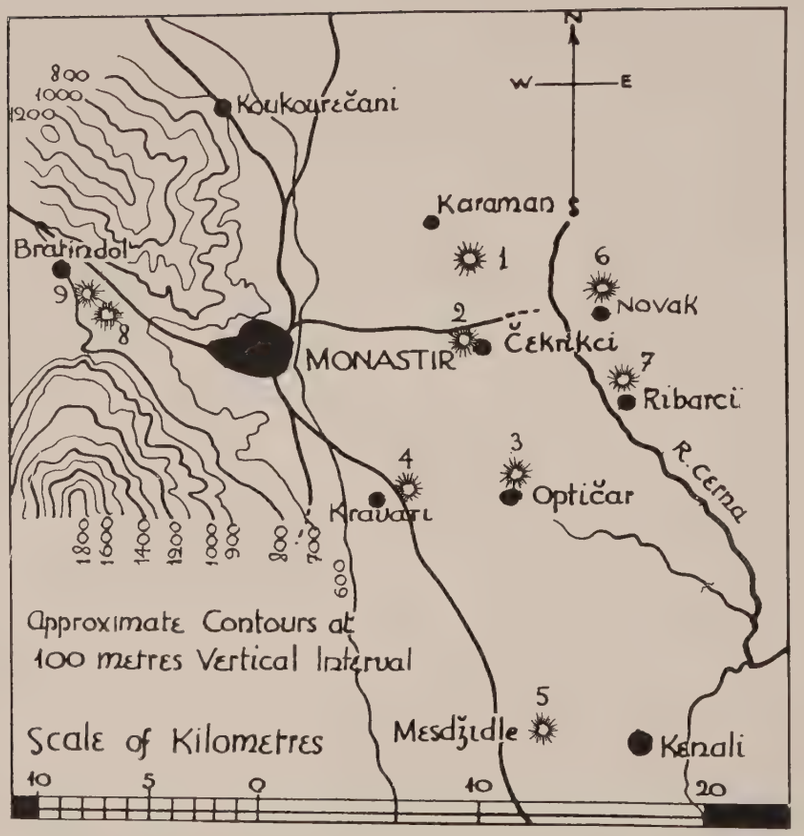


2.—Bronze Amulets (?).

Macedonia: Bronze Objects from Chauchitsa.



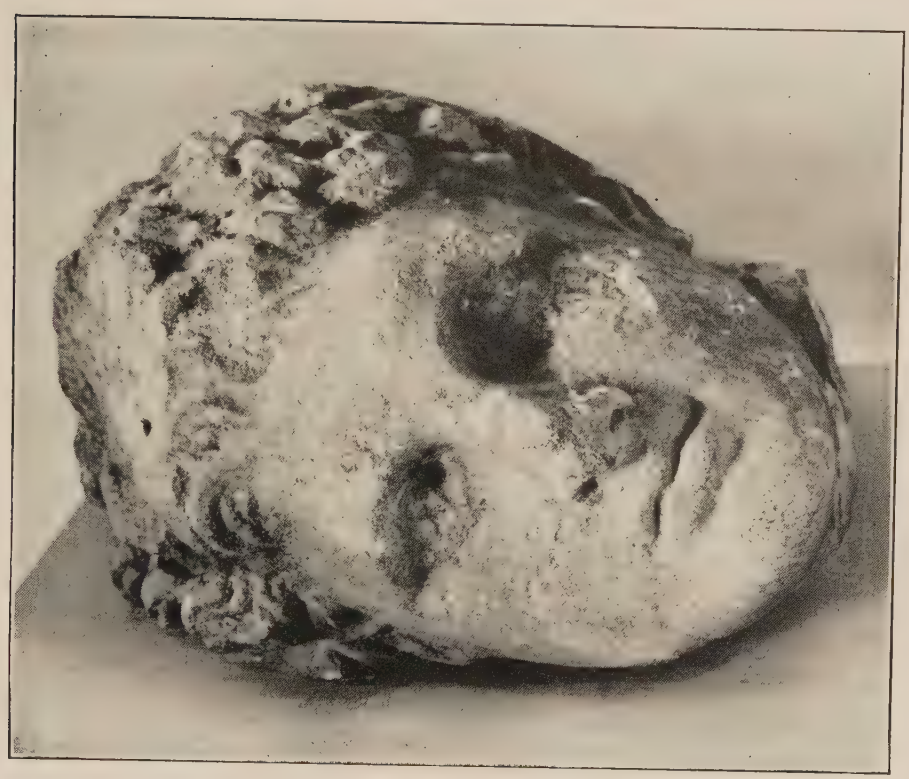
1.—Mounds in West Chalcidice.



2.—Mounds in the Plain of Monastir.

Macedonia: Sketch-maps shewing Position of Mounds.

Map of the East End of the Gulf of Corinth to illustrate Prehistoric Sea-trade Routes.



1.—Colossal Head from Ialysos. (Metropolitan Museum, New York.)

2.—Youthful Male Head from Rhodes (?). (British Museum.)

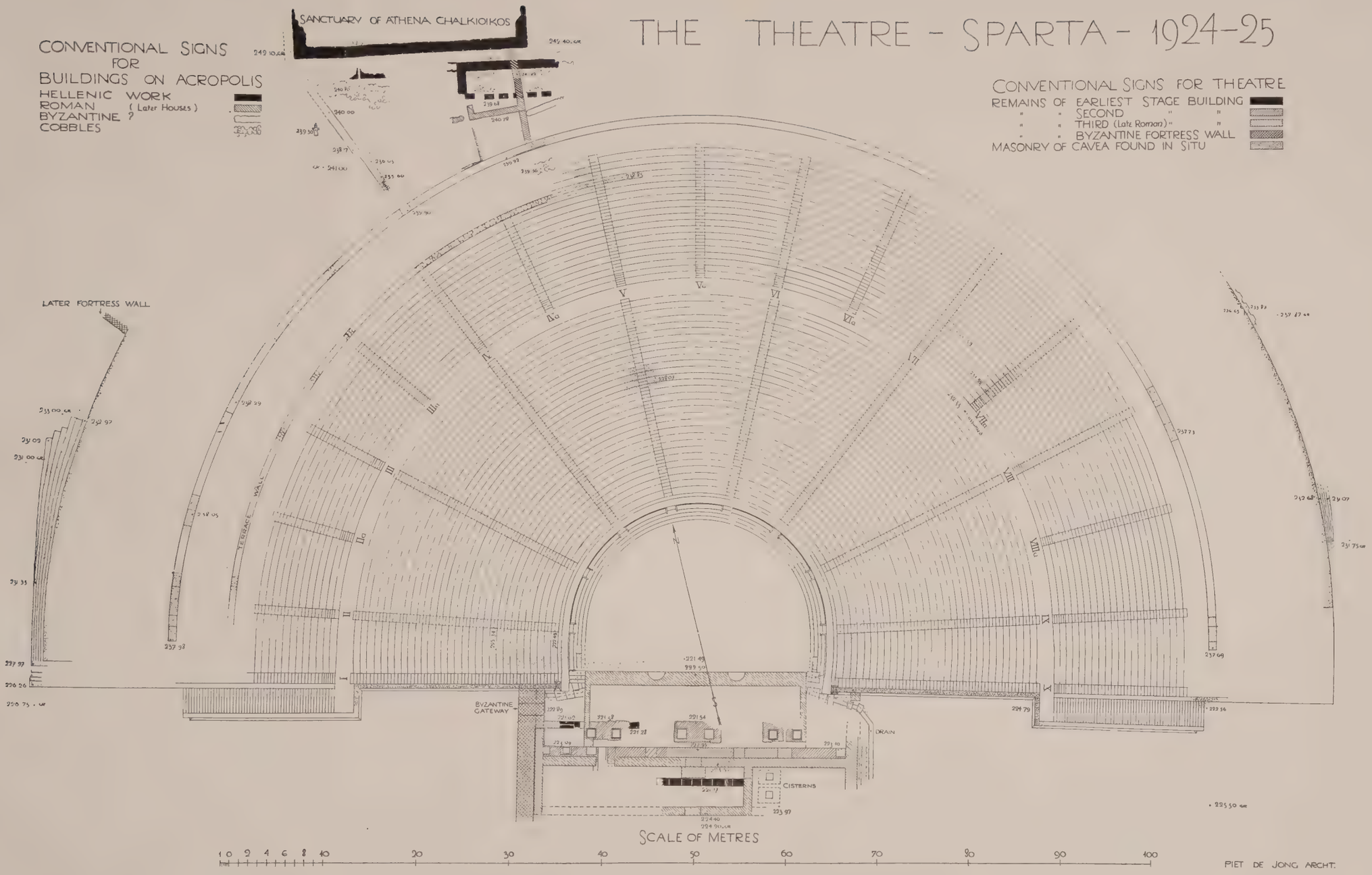
Rhodes and Hellenistic Sculpture: Youthful Male Head on the Alexander Sarcophagus.

Rhodes and Hellenistic Sculpture: Gravestone in Constantinople.
(Ottoman Museum.)

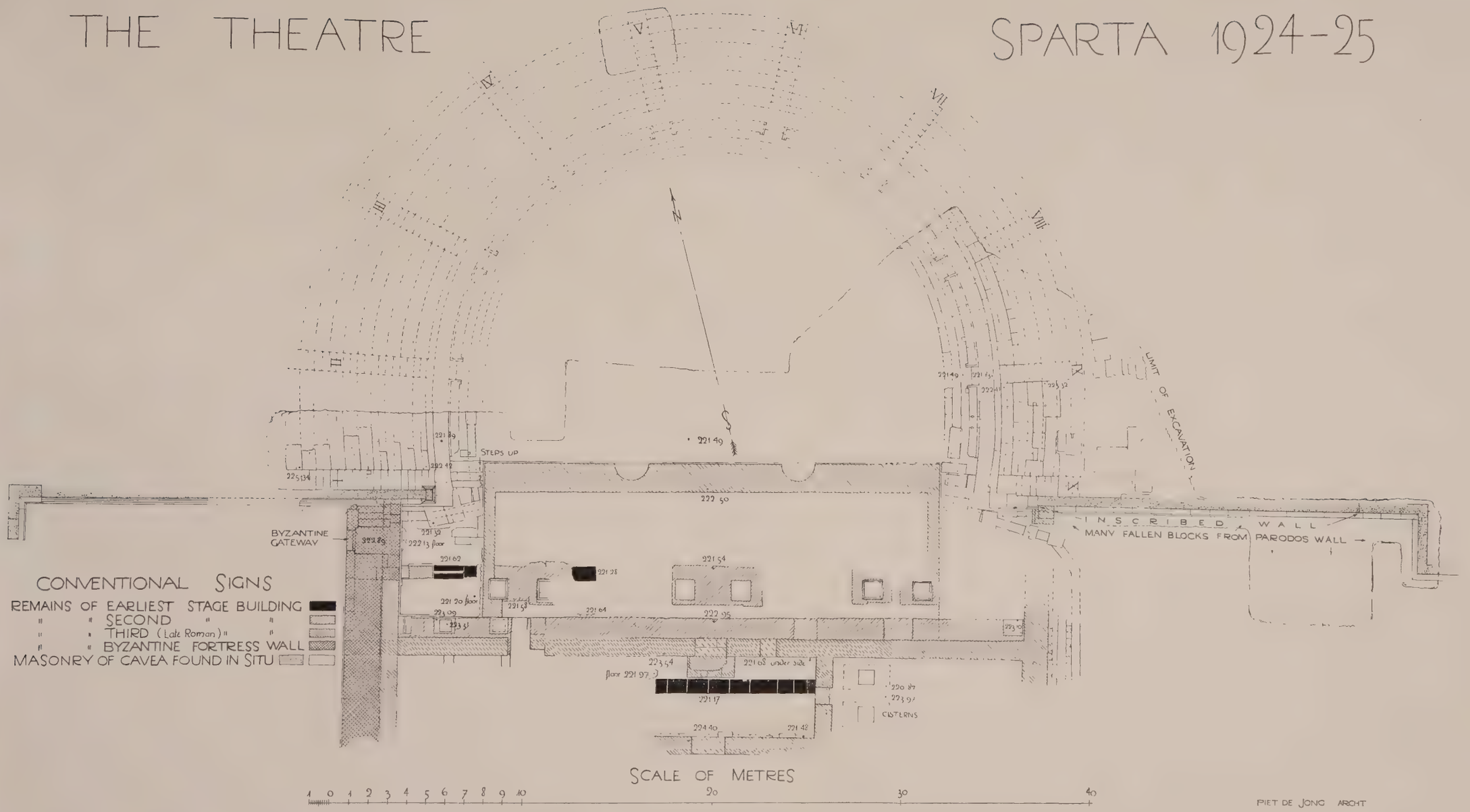
Stamped Pithos Fragments from Melos. (Scale 1 : 2.)
(Collection of British School.)

Stamped Pithos Fragments from Melos. (Scale 1 : 2.)
(Collection of British School.)

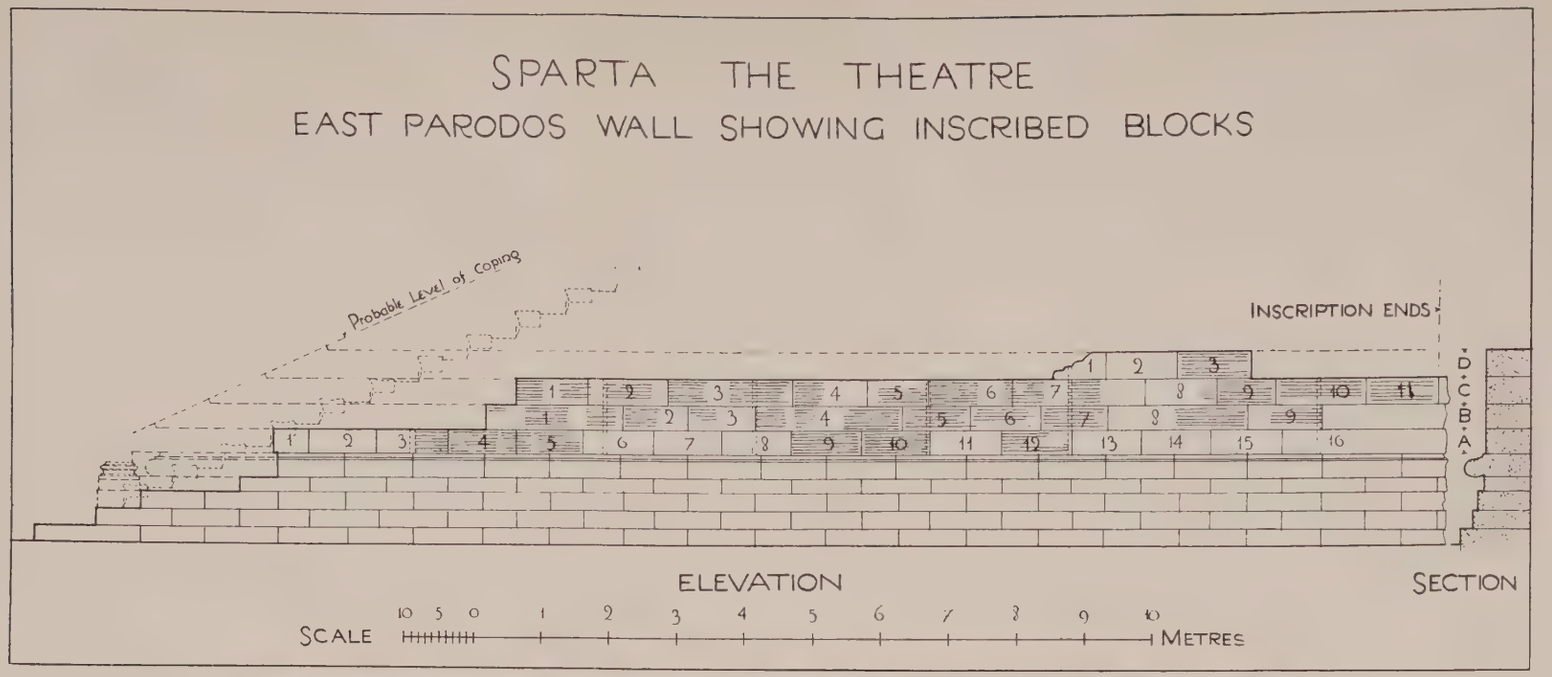
WINGED EROS: SIXTH-CENTURY STATUETTE IN *POROS* STONE. (Scale 1 : 1.)



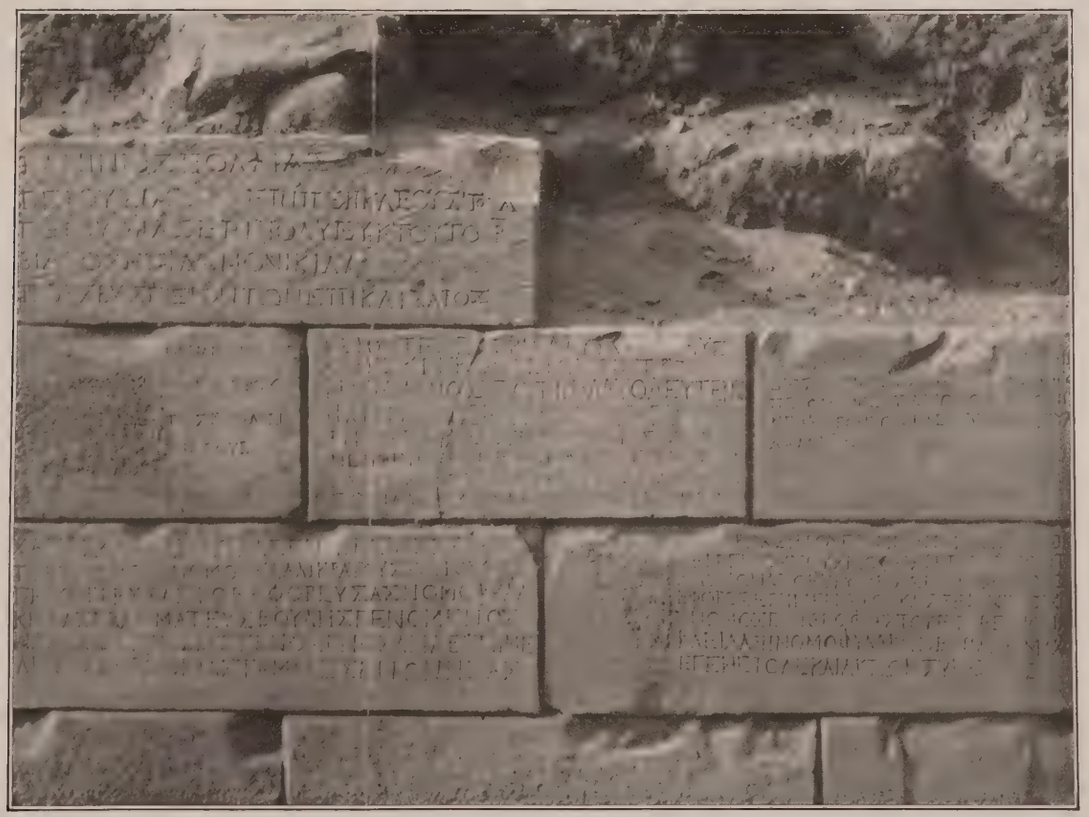
Excavations at Sparta: The Theatre. Plan shewing the Arrangement of the Seats in the *Cavea*.



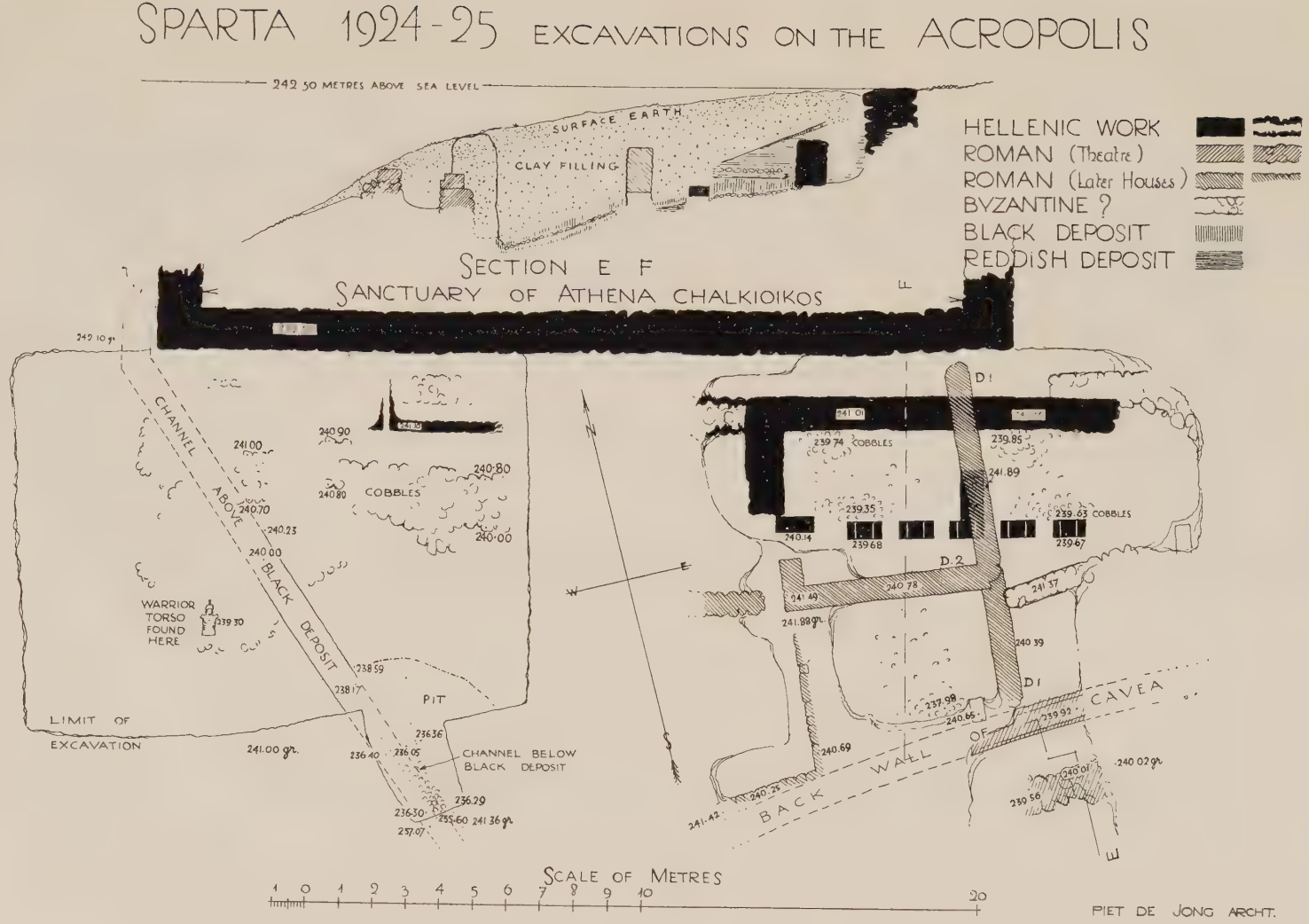
Excavations at Sparta: The Theatre. Plan shewing lower Rows of Seats in the *Cavea*, the Orchestra and the Stage-buildings.



1.—Elevation of East Parodos Wall.



2.—Inscribed Blocks *in situ* in the East Parodos Wall.



EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA: THE ACROPOLIS. PLAN OF SITES. (Scale 1 : 200.)

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Excavations at Sparta: The Acropolis. Marble Statue of a Warrior. (Scale 1 : 10.) From a Cast.

Excavations at Sparta: The Acropolis. Head and Shoulders of the Statue of a Warrior. (Scale *ca.* 1 : 3.) From the Original.

Excavations at Sparta: The Acropolis. Head of the Statue of a Warrior. (Scale *ca.* 1 : 3.) From a Cast, with Crest restored.

Excavations at Sparta: The Acropolis. Bronze Gorgoneion. (Scale 2 : 5.)

Excavations at Sparta: The Acropolis. Bronze Lion-*protome*.
(Scale 3 : 5.)